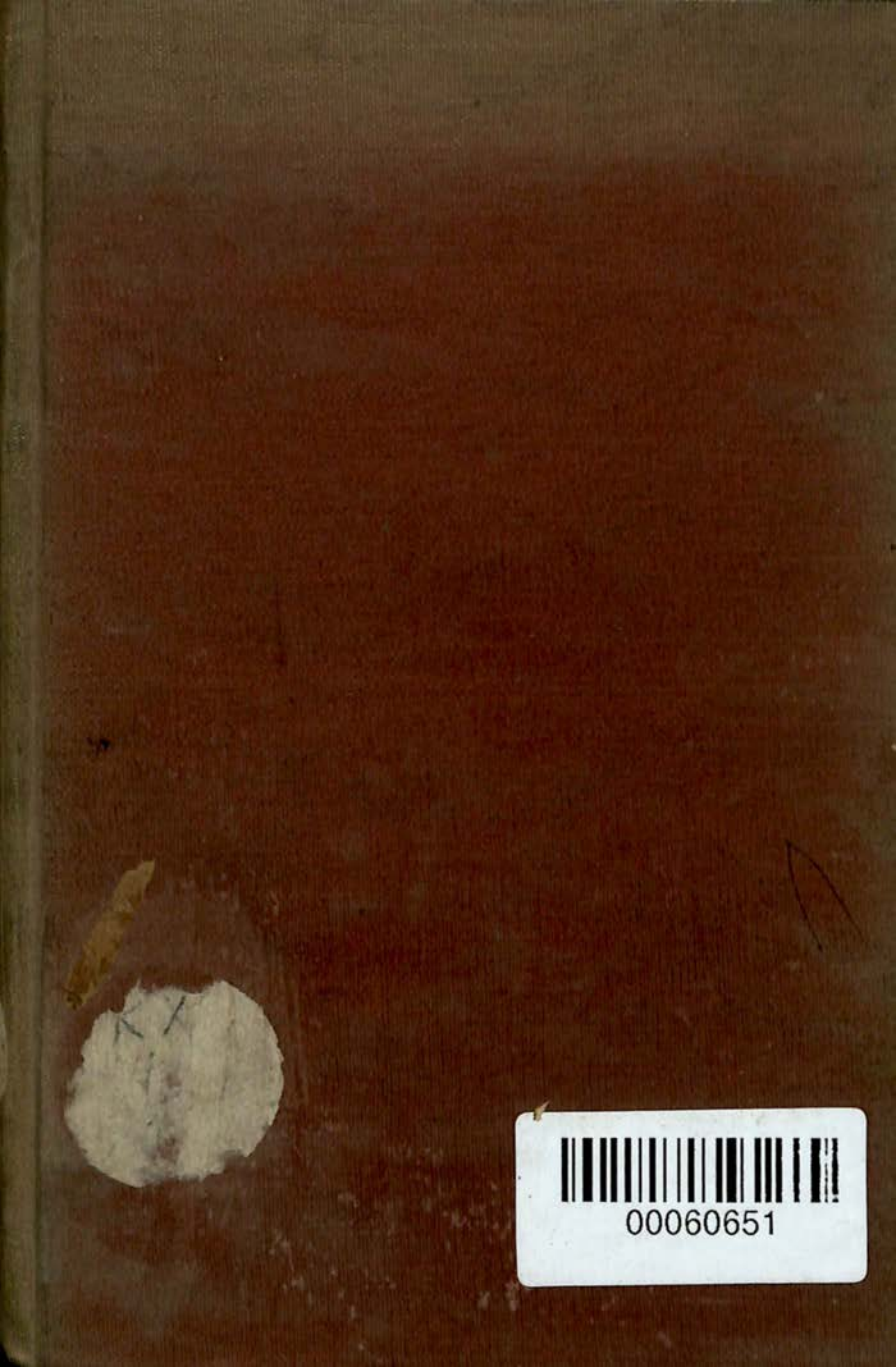
00060651

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 April, 2016

STATE

OF THE

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

BEING AN

HISTORICAL, STATISTICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

ACCOUNT

OF THAT

INTERESTING PORTION OF THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO;

THOMAS DE COMYN,

(MADRID, 1820.)

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH,

WITH

NOTES AND A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

BY

WILLIAM WALTON Esq.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. AND J. ALLMAN

BOOKSELLERS TO HER MAJESTY

PRINCE'S-STREET, HANOVER SQUARE;

AND SOLD BY J. M. RICHARDSON CORNHILL.

1821.

00060651

BARNARD AND FARLEY,
Skinner Street, London.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE object of the present publication is to furnish a sketch of the population, natural productions, industry, and commerce of the Philippine Islands, together with an account of the public revenue and expences of administration. It is also intended to convey a correct idea of the mode of government pursued in the provinces, and, more particularly, to describe the ravages committed on the coasts by the Mahometan pirates who infest the Indian Archipelago. On these various topics such reflections will be added, as are likely to call the attention of the public to the present state of one of our most interesting colonies, the principal inducement that has determined the writer to put the following outline to press.

A residence of eight years, and the official situation he held during that time, in Manilla, have furnished him with no ordinary opportunities of obtaining information on the various branches and subjects he has taken upon himself to treat; and in the present undertaking he feels a greater degree of confidence, from the circumstance of his MS. having met with the previous approbation of several persons of experience and authority in the Islands, whom he consulted on the leading facts and observations it contained. Far, however, from presuming that he has acquitted himself of so laudable a task, in a manner worthy of the importance of the subject, these particulars are merely mentioned as a proof of his zeal; for, in candour it must be confessed, that a complete picture could not be drawn of a country, so wide and varied, in the reduced form under which the present attempt is now laid before the public.

CONTENTS.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

TRANSLATOR'S PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE, *viz. Object of the Work.—Discovery of the Philippine Islands and Moluccas.—Fresh Attempts to follow up these Discoveries.—Origin and Termination of the Disputes between Spaniards and Portuguese respecting the Moluccas.—Fresh Attempts to colonize the Philippines.—Legaspi's Expedition.—Conquest and Settlement of Zebu, Panay, and Manilla.—Conquest of the Interior of Luzon.—Manilla attacked by a Chinese Pirate and nearly taken.—A British Squadron under Drake visits the Archipelago.—Spaniards attack Borneo and Ternate.—Manilla consumed by Fire.—High Court of Justice established there.—Improvements in Manilla.—Rebellion and Destruction of the Chinese Traders and Residents.—Fresh Attempts against the Moluccas.—Capture of Ternate.—Japanese revolt in Manilla.—Spanish Expeditions against the Dutch at Malacca.—War with the Dutch.—Dutch attack the Philippines.—Insurrections of the Indians.—Manilla destroyed by a dreadful Earthquake.—The Philippines threatened by a Chinese Pirate, who took Formosa from the Dutch.—Ternate, Zamboanga, &c. evacuated.—Chinese expelled from Manilla.—Commodore Anson captures the Acapulco Ship.—Dreadful Ravages of the Moors.—Volcanic Irruptions.—Chinese again expelled.—Siege and Capture of Manilla by the British.—Occurrences there during the Occupation.—Defence of the Interior by General Anda.—Junius's Letters to Sir William Draper respecting Manilla Ransom.—Evacuation.—General Anda appointed Governor.—Subsequent Events.—Situation of Manilla and*

Cavite.—Division and Size of the Philippines.—Their Climate, Fertility, and Natural Curiosities.—Two Kinds of Aborigines; their Origin, present State; how converted to Muhomedanism.—Marianas Islands and other Dependencies on the Philippines.—Decline of the latter.—Author's Views respecting Indians explained.—General Remarks on Spain in reference to her ultramarine Provinces.

PAGE

CHAP. I. *Population.—Agriculture.—viz. Cotton, Indigo, Sugar, Bees-wax, black Pepper, Coffee, Cocoa, Cinnamon, Nutmeg, Rice, Dye-Woods, and Timber.*

II. *Of Minerals.—Estates.—Manufactures* 31

III. *Internal and external Commerce.—Funds therein invested.—Property belonging to pious and charitable Institutions.—Mercantile Shipping.—Royal Philippine Company* 62

IV. *Of the public Revenue.—Revenue arising out of the Crown Monopolies of Tobacco.—Of the Coco and Nipa, or Palm Wine.—Royal Custom House.—Import and Export Duties.—Monopoly of the Bonga, or Areca Nut* 98

V. *Revenue continued.—Licence of Cockpits.—Indian Tributes.—Subaltern Branches.—Disbursements and General Expences* 159

VI. *Of the Civil Administration and Government of the Provinces* 192

VII. *Of the Spiritual Administration* 209

VIII. *Of the Moors and their Piracies* 231

APPENDIX.

PAGE

TABLE I. *Population of the Philippine Islands, according to the most recent Data* 275

II. *Comparative Statement of Expences in cultivating Sugar, Indigo, and Rice* 277

III. *General List of Philippine Manufactures and Provinces in which made* 281

IV. *Imports, Exports, and ordinary Consumption of the Philippine Islands* 283

V. *Funds belonging to Pious and Religious Establishments, let out at Maritime Risks* 285

VI. *Various Branches of the Public Revenue, Expences, and Nett Proceeds* 286

VII. *General Statement of Sales, Expences, and Proceeds of the Tobacco Monopoly, for a given Period of Years* 288

VIII. *Royal Custom House and other Duties, for a given Period of Years* 290

IX. *General Statement of Indian Tributes according to Provinces, Expences of Collection, and Nett Proceeds* 292

X. *General Statement of the Expences of Administration and Defence of the Philippine Islands* 294

XI. *Enumeration of all the Towns and Missions, distinguishing the Religious Orders and Indian Clergy by whom administered* 297

TRANSLATOR'S

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

THE Work now laid before the British Public, was evidently intended to call the attention of the Spanish authorities and nation to the neglected state in which the Philippine Islands were left, and, by pointing out the abuses under which the administration of that secluded portion of the monarchy laboured, to awaken a spirit of inquiry, favourable to reform in all the branches of the insular government. Its object was also to shew the immense improvements of which that country is susceptible, by an enumeration of resources in great measure disregarded, and to demonstrate the fallacy of that restrictive system by which the industry and emulation of the inhabitants had hitherto been paralyzed. It was published in Madrid at the time the Spanish Cortes so lately met for the commencement of their valuable labours, as containing desirable and recent information respecting the Philippine Islands, a subject that would naturally enter within the range of investigations about to be instituted, with a view to correct existing defects, and reconstruct the commercial relations of Spain on a more enlightened system. Its publication may, therefore, be considered as among the first advantages gained by the late revolution in Spain, and

the consequent establishment of the freedom of the press. A certain jealousy has usually prevailed with regard to the transmarine affairs of Spain, that must have withheld a work like this from the public eye; but that feeling ceased, as soon as the new order of things was restored, and many of the most distinguished members of the Cortes were the first to recommend its appearance in print, on the principle that valuable information ought not to be hidden, and that they were equally as much interested in the welfare of those distant sections of the monarchy, as the natives and inhabitants themselves could be.

The author's previous pursuits have clearly been mercantile, and from the high situation he held in the Philippine Company at Manilla, he possessed sources of information to which few could have access. Hence, may it be said, that he has published the first statistical and descriptive account of a part of the Indian Archipelago, of which, till now, we had scarcely any other knowledge than a few scanty and detached particulars, hastily communicated by voyagers who had accidentally touched at or cruised near the islands, among whom Dampier and the writer of Anson's Voyages may almost be considered the best. Some historical details, particularly by Zuñiga, were indeed printed about the year 1803; but they are no other than a crude outline of various events, by which, from the time of the conquest, the administration of each Captain-General had been distinguished, only reaching up to 1764, when Manilla was evacuated by the British; of course very inadequate to the wants of the general reader, and in no way comprising the last 50 years, during which

period the Philippine Islands have, comparatively speaking, acquired a new existence.

If any thing is to be regretted, it is, that the author has not given us more, and that he confined himself only to the most material points. He must evidently possess a still larger and more diversified fund of information; but having been appointed to accompany the commissioners who proceeded to Buenos Ayres with pacific overtures, he was no doubt prevented from adding to his volume. It has, however, been the wish of the translator to throw into the body of the work, as much illustrative and comparative information as he was able, in the shape of notes, distinguished in the usual way; and also additional matter in the Preliminary Discourse; with a view to make up deficiencies, so as to render the present work as complete as possible, and deserving the character of an useful appendage to Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago. For this purpose, he obtained some materials from Madrid, and considered himself fortunate in possessing a variety of interesting, though not recent, reports and papers, at various times laid before the Council of the Indies, of which his confined limits have prevented him from making as much use as he could have wished; but it will be found he has given an ample sketch of the conquest, settlement, and history of the Philippines, and, in other respects, supplied the omissions of the original work; at the same time explaining some of the author's views, which, to the English reader, might not appear altogether intelligible. In short, as an important and eventful revolution has taken place in Spain, on which the author could not have calculated according to the form in which his pages were prepared, and of which,

consequently, he did not anticipate the results, the translator has endeavoured to place the whole on a parallel with the constitutional system, more particularly as far as regards political and commercial changes, by which means the work is rendered more acceptable and perfect in all its parts.

The Archipelago of St. Lazarus, the name originally given to the Philippine Islands, was discovered by Hernando de Magallanes, who left Seville in August, 1519, with five ships, manned by 234 men and fitted out by orders of Charles V. On reaching the South Sea, by the passage still bearing the name of its discoverer, he had only three vessels left; but with these he proceeded on in quest of the Spice Islands, the chief plea that had given rise to so daring an enterprise. On the day of St. Lazarus, he discovered a group of islands which he called by the name of the Saint, and landing at Botoan, belonging to the province of Caraga, in the island of Mindanao, he took possession of the new discovery in the name of the king of Spain, and there the first mass was celebrated. He next proceeded to the island of Zebu, and gained over its chief, as well as that of Dimasua. Mactan, a small island in front of Zebu, however, resisted the Spaniards, and its chief, confident of his own strength, challenged Magallanes to land, who accepted the challenge. He took with him 50 Spaniards, attacked the Indians by advancing through a deep morass; but, being wounded by an arrow, he died on the field together with six of his men, and the rest retreated on board. Thus perished, though not ingloriously, the renowned Magallanes, whose name, in the annals of the New World, deserves to rank immediately after that of Columbus.

After the death of their leader, the Spaniards chose Juan Serrano for their commander, and the Indians after this recent misfortune, no longer considering them as demi-gods or invincible, began to plot their destruction. They artfully disguised their designs, and persuaded the new commander, accompanied by 24 of his companions, to be present at a feast, prepared by Hamabar, chief of Zebu. In the midst of the entertainment, concealed Indians rushed on the unsuspecting Spaniards, and murdered the whole of them, with the exception of Serrano, who escaped to his ships. Despairing of success in this quarter, the Spaniards proceeded in search of the Moluccas, after burning one of their ships, owing to the want of men, and choosing Juan Carvallo as their leader. On the 8th November they arrived at Tidore, one of the Moluccas, where the chief received them well, and granted them permission to load spices, with which they intended to return to Spain. The Trinidad, one of the ships, proceeded towards Panama; and the Victoria, the other, returned home by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at St. Lucar, on 7th September, 1522, three years after their departure from Seville, and with only 18 men remaining. The surviving Captain, Sebastian del Cano, being thus the first who had sailed round the world, the emperor bestowed honours upon him, and gave him for his coat of arms a terrestrial globe, with the motto of *Hic primus geometros.*

The enterprising spirit which at that time existed in Spain, and the flattering accounts given by the survivors of the new discoveries, induced the emperor to send out another armament under the command of Estevan Gomez, who, by a north-west passage, pledged

to discover a shorter route to the Pacific. This squadron sailed in 1524, and was soon dispersed by bad weather. In the following year, Father Loyasa was dispatched from Corunna with 7 ships and 450 picked men, among whom was Andres de Urdaneta, who afterwards became a friar of the order of St. Augustin, and, as will be hereafter seen, directed the expedition from New Spain, which effected the conquest of the Philippines. Loyasa's fleet passed the Straits of Magallanes, with the loss only of one ship; but on entering the Pacific, they were dispersed by a storm. Loyasa pursued his course, and dying soon afterwards, was succeeded by Sebastian del Cano, in conformity to the orders of the emperor; but he only surviving a few days, the command devolved on Martin Yañez, a Biscayan. They arrived at Tidore, on 31st December, 1526, and were soon joined by the rest of the squadron, though after losing a large part of their men. Here they found that the Portuguese had declared war against the chief of Tidore, for having, on the previous occasion, granted the Spaniards a favourable reception. The latter espoused the cause of the islanders, and several partial actions took place with the Portuguese; but, through the effects of the climate and other calamities, their numbers being now reduced to 120, they constructed a fort and intrenched themselves. In this situation, shut up in their fortress, was the remnant of Loyasa's armament found by Alvaro de Saavedra, who commanded an expedition of three ships fitted out by the viceroy of New Spain, by orders from court, and which arrived at Tidore by the route of the Marianas Islands, of which possession was taken in 1528. They were received as deliverers by their suffering countrymen; but their joy was of short duration,

fresh quarrels breaking out with the Portuguese, who had nearly destroyed all the ships of the Spaniards. Twice they commenced their voyage to New Spain, and as many times were driven back through stress of weather, and after losing their leader and a great part of their crews, the survivors submitted to the Portuguese.

This portion of the Indian Archipelago, at that time, presented the singular spectacle of the subjects of two European nations waging a destructive war against each other, without any previous declaration of hostilities at home. To explain the origin of this contest, a small digression will be necessary. The ambition of new conquests, the glory of visiting remote seas, and the fervid zeal of extending the Christian faith, equally animated the breasts of Spaniards and Portuguese, during the 16th century; commerce being, at that time, only a secondary consideration. The enterprising and heroic acts of both nations, whether read from the pen of an Ercilla or a Camoens, fill the mind with wonder and astonishment; more particularly if we consider the degraded state into which each was afterwards sunk through the defects of their respective governments. The Portuguese had for some time been carrying on their discoveries and conquests along the coasts of Africa and Guinea, and by a bull, dated 8th January, 1456, Pope Nicholas V. confirmed the same to Alphonsus V. of Portugal; in which he also amplified his former letters patent, wherein a grant had been made of all he might take from the Saracens, as an equivalent for the expences incurred, and on the condition of his reducing the conquered to the Christian faith. These grants were afterwards confirmed by Calixtus III., in 1456,

and Calixtus IV., in 1481, when the possession of the Canary Islands in favour of Spain, was specially exempted from the previous grants.

In 1493, Alexander VI. issued his bull on behalf of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and their successors, in which he granted to them all the countries and islands, discovered and not discovered, situated to the west and south of a line drawn from the two poles, and passing 100 leagues westward of the Cape De Verd Islands, unless previously occupied by some Christian power. The terms of this grant by the court of Portugal were deemed an infringement on those previously made to them, and several remonstrances and negotiations ensued, as well with the Papal See as the government of Spain. In the mean time the celebrated Sebastian del Cano arrived home with the remnant of Magallanes' expedition, bringing overtures of allegiance from several of the Molucca chiefs, and, above all, a cargo of spices. These circumstances excited greater emulation in the Portuguese, who, being powerful in India, lost no time in establishing themselves in Ternate, one of the Moluccas, whilst remonstrances were urged against further armaments being made by Spain to that quarter. Both sovereigns, anxious to preserve the existing harmony, resolved to leave the matters in dispute respecting their Indian enterprises to arbitrators, and the whole eventually terminated in a treaty, signed 22 April, 1529, by which the emperor Charles V. at that time in great want of money, agreed to give up his right and title to the Moluccas or Spice Islands, for the sum of 350,000 ducats of gold; but, according to the tenor of the original document, of which a copy is before me, reserving to himself and successors the pri-

vilege of reassuming his rights and title to the same, whenever the above-named sum should be refunded.

The contest being ended in this way, the king of Spain turned all his thoughts to the conquest of the undisputed islands discovered by Magallanes, and for this purpose orders were transmitted to the viceroy of New Spain; the ports on the Pacific being deemed more convenient. With this view five ships were fitted out and sailed from the port of Natividad, under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, on 1st November, 1542, who was strictly enjoined not to approach the Moluccas, in order to avoid creating jealousies among the Portuguese. He also carried with him four Augustin friars for the conversion of the conquered natives: but the squadron, after arriving safe off the Philippines, was driven so much to leeward by the S. W. monsoon, that they were compelled to anchor at the island of Sarragan, 40 leagues from the opposite coast of Mindanao. It was this commander who then gave to these islands the name of Philippines, in honour of Philip II. of Spain, and after suffering great privations in the miserable island of Sarragan, through the want of provisions, he sent some of his smaller vessels to the neighbouring ones in search of supplies; but, being delayed longer than he expected, he sailed for the Moluccas, though contrary to his orders. Here he was ungraciously received by the Portuguese, and proceeding on to Amboyna, he died in the arms of St. Francis Xavier, in the year 1546, falling a victim to a deep melancholy which preyed upon him, owing to the disasters of his expedition and the dread of his sovereign's displeasure.

Notwithstanding such great sacrifices and misfor-

tunes, the government of Spain seemed to cling to the old project of colonizing the Philippine Islands, and being partly recovered from the exhausted state in which the kingdom was left by the ruinous wars carried on during the reign of Charles V., and the viceroyalty of New Spain, having, in the mean time, made rapid progress, Philip II. gave orders to his representative there, Don Luis de Velasco, belonging to the noble family of the Duke de Frias, to construct the number of vessels necessary for the enterprise, appoint a commander, and make every other preparation. He also addressed a royal order to Andres de Urdaneta, who, as already noticed, had become an Augustin friar in Mexico. This distinguished individual had served as a military officer in the Italian wars, and had also been a captain in the armaments of Loyasa and Saavedra, when he acquired great practical knowledge of the Indian Archipelago. He was, besides, well versed in nautical affairs, being considered one of the best mathematicians of the age, and the king was desirous that his talents, prudence and experience should be added to the present undertaking. The viceroy confided the supreme command to Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a noble Biscayan, who had greatly distinguished himself in the military affairs of America. Five Augustin friars were also embarked, as well as an Indian interpreter, belonging to Tidore, who had been brought away in Villalobos's ship. The most judicious arrangements having been made by the viceroy, the armament left the port of Natividad on 21st November, 1564, consisting of two large ships, one galley and a *patache*, having on board 400 picked men. A month after their departure, the *patache*, commanded by Alonzo de

Arellano, separated, as is generally thought, intentionally, and proceeding on to Mindanao, took in a cargo of spices and gold, with which she returned to New Spain.

Legaspi pursued the course pointed out in his instructions, and on 9th January, 1565, discovered an island which he called Barbudos, owing to the natives wearing longer beards than the other Indian islanders. On the 22d they made the Ladrones islands, which name was given them from the thievish disposition observed in the inhabitants, but since called the Marianas, in compliment to Queen Mary of Austria. On 13th February, they came in sight of the Philippines, and landed at Tindaya and Abuyo, but did not succeed in negotiating for provisions. Legaspi next proceeded to Bohol, where *Villalobos'* people had formerly obtained supplies; but the natives had fled to the mountains. The conciliating conduct of the Spanish commander soon inspired them with confidence, and they brought down what provisions they had, for which they were duly paid. The Spaniards then sailed to Zebu, but their landing was opposed by the chief and his people; though as soon as the Spaniards were on shore they took to flight. The detachment advanced towards their town; but, on approaching, they found it in flames and the moveables conveyed away.

Legaspi pitched his tent on shore, and ordered his flag-ship to be repaired, with a view to send her back to New Spain. Being greatly harassed by the Indians, a fort was built. Constant negotiations were kept up with Tupas, chief of the island, in which Legaspi endeavoured to convince him of the advantages of living in amity, and pledging to forget his treachery towards

Magallanes. Hardships, the want of provisions, and uncertainty with regard to the future, gave rise to several mutinies among the soldiers, which were, however, fortunately suppressed, and some examples set to deter others. The flag-ship being ready, she sailed on the 1st of June, 1565, with Father Urdaneta on board, who went with a report of what had been done, and to solicit supplies and assistance for the conversion of the islanders.

The day after the sailing of the flag-ship, Tupas, finding it impossible to resist the Spaniards, had a conference with Legaspi, and agreed to pay homage to the king of Spain, supply provisions, and grant the land necessary to build a city and fortifications. Thus was established the first Spanish town in the Philippines, which Legaspi called by his own name, San Miguel. The natives came down from the mountains, confidence was restored, and soon the island exhibited the spectacle of two distinct races of people establishing themselves near each other. The Spaniards had constructed several light gallies, better adapted to these seas, and with them went against some neighbouring towns, at war with the Zebuans. The natives of the island of Luzon also brought them 200 baskets of rice, and several good captures of provisions were made from the enemy; still, for a considerable time, they were exposed to famine. Several small expeditions were sent out to reconnoitre the neighbouring islands, and it was discovered that some of the towns courted the friendship of the Spaniards, whilst others sought to starve them out of the country, and for this purpose the provisions had been conveyed to the mountains.

Soon afterwards a vessel arrived at Zebu from Aca-

pulco, sent in aid of the expedition, at the solicitation of Father Urdaneta, who had arrived safely in Mexico, and proceeded on to Madrid. On board this vessel a dreadful mutiny and some bloody scenes had taken place; but at length she entered the port to the great joy of the new colony. Besides looking after provisions, a galley was sent to Mindanao, for the purpose of obtaining cinnamon, intended to be sent to New Spain on account of the king, and also pitch for careening the vessels. On a party employed there in this way, the Mindanayans rose, and murdered the whole.

The Portuguese made their appearance in these seas, in consequence of which Legaspi strengthened his fortifications. On the 10th June, 1567, two Portuguese gallies arrived with letters from Captain Pereyra, in which he expressed a hope that the Spaniards had only taken up a temporary residence in Zebu. Legaspi, apprehensive of an attack, sent off a small vessel to New Spain, requiring immediate aid. On the 20th of the following August, two ships arrived with seasonable relief; but Pereyra did not reach Zebu till 30th September, 1568, when, instead of waging war against each other, the two commanders held conferences, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the Philippines were within the line of demarcation traced by the pope.

Legaspi, finding the theatre of his operations too confined at Zebu, resolved to establish himself in a more fertile country, and ordered the camp to be removed to the island of Panay. This service he intrusted to his relative, Philip de Salcedo, who was cordially received by the natives, whom he had formerly assisted against their enemies. Captain La Haya was also sent with a detachment to the river Araut in the

same island, Captain Ibarra to the island of Masbate, and a garrison left in Zebu. Another vessel arrived from Acapulco with supplies, and several Augustine friars. Tupas, the Zebuan chief, was baptized and took the name of Philip, in compliment to the king of Spain, and his example was followed by many of his countrymen; indeed nothing could equal the zeal of the missionaries, and their labours were most successful.

It having been determined to subdue the island of Luzon, Legaspi set out to forward the expedition, and touching at Panay, was cordially received by the natives. Here he ordered fortifications to be erected, as well to prevent any attempts on the part of the Portuguese, as to check the proceedings of a number of pirates, fitted out from Jolo and Borneo, and which had captured a Spanish vessel and her crew, but were afterwards dispersed by the commander left at Zebu. In January, 1570, Captain Juan Salcedo sailed against the pirates of Mindoro, and having taken the town of Mamburao, he compelled the inhabitants to ransom themselves with gold. He next proceeded to the isle of Lucban, where the pirates of Mindoro had taken refuge, and after forcing their intrenchments, they ransomed themselves in the same way.

Colonel Goite was appointed to command the expedition against Manilla, and accompanied by Juan de Salcedo, 120 soldiers, and a party of friendly Indians, he left Panay, in the beginning of May, 1570. He himself went directly against the town, but Salcedo landed near the lake of Bombon, now called the province of Batangas, to treat with the natives. They received him with demonstrations of hostility, when he engaged them, but receiving a wound in his leg from an

arrow, he was compelled to abandon his enterprise, and followed the colonel to Manilla. The latter had made terms with Rajah Matanda and his nephew Soliman; but it was soon discovered they were not sincere. They had fortifications built at the mouth of the river, where now the fort of Santiago stands, defended by artillery, in the use of which they had been taught by Europeans. Several Spaniards had been murdered ashore, and Soliman at length threw off the mask, and fired on the shipping. The colonel instantly landed with eighty men, and stormed the fort, the Indians flying to their town, which they burnt with a view to diminish the success of their enemies. Here a foundery for cannon was destroyed; but twelve large, and a few smaller pieces were taken in the place. The old Rajah, Matanda, was considered no party to this disturbance, the whole of the blame being laid on Soliman; but the colonel finding his force insufficient, and fearing also that if he delayed any longer the S. W. monsoon would prevent his return, after repairing his ships at Cavite, proceeded back to Panay.

On the 23d June, three more vessels arrived from New Spain, and in them several missionaries. Legaspi also received dispatches from his sovereign, approving his conduct, nominating him president of the Islands, and ordering portions of land to be distributed among those engaged in the various conquests. He dispatched two vessels back to Acapulco, and then went to Zebu, constituted the new town into a city, gave it a municipal establishment, laid the foundation of a stone fort, and made every other arrangement for the good administration and future defence of the island.

Returning to Panay, he took command of the expe-

dition destined against Manilla, with which he sailed on the 15th April, 1571. He reviewed his men in the island of Latuga, and found they amounted to 280, and passing by the island of Mindoro, settled the tribute the natives were to pay to the king of Spain, where he had the opportunity of saving a Chinese junk from foundering, by which means he secured the friendship of the crew. He arrived at Cavite, and there waited for the vessels which had fallen astern. The whole squadron then entered the river of Manilla, and the Indians, conceiving the Spaniards had returned to punish them for their late misconduct, set fire to the town, and fled with their effects to Tondo. Colonel Goite went after them, and convinced them, by means of an interpreter, that the intention of the Spaniards was not to injure them. After various negociations, the old Rajah and Lacandola, chief of Tondo, agreed to visit Legaspi, who received them in the most engaging manner. They promised to become subjects of the king of Spain, and listen to the new law that was to be preached to them. Soon afterwards Soliman also came in, and received the general's pardon.

Affairs being thus advanced, arrangements were made for building a new city and fort at the entrance of the river. Behind it a palace, church and convent were first erected, as well as houses for the remaining Spaniards. Such was the conquest and foundation of the city of Manilla, intended as the seat of government, and the ceremonies usually attending establishments of this kind, were performed on the 19th of May, 1571. It was, however, soon discovered that no great reliance could be placed on the sincerity of the islanders. Two chiefs from the interior appeared off the mouth of Ban-

cusay harbour, with forty prows, and landing they proceeded to Lacandola's house, reproached the Indians for so tamely submitting to a handful of foreigners, and urged them to shake off the yoke. Legaspi sent two Spaniards to treat with them, but they received them with insults and derision, offering to fight the Spaniards if they went to Bancusay bay. Thither Colonel Goite instantly proceeded with his light vessels, when a most bloody engagement ensued, in which the Indians shewed the greatest valour. The leader of the Indians being killed by a musket-shot, the remainder fled and were pursued by the Spaniards, who took many prisoners, among whom were a son and nephew of Lacandola. Legaspi however forgave their treachery, and sent them back to their relatives. This forbearance and the dread of Spanish prowess, had such an effect on the country, that several chiefs came in and sued for peace.

The new city being founded, a municipality established, and the surrounding country in amity with the Spaniards, Colonel Goite was sent to La Pampanga to reduce the natives; but on arriving at the river Betis, he was obliged to return, having discovered the treachery of Soliman and Lacandola, who had accompanied him as interpreters. On the 17th of July, Legaspi's nephew arrived with two ships, sent by the viceroy of Mexico as a reinforcement. Juan de Salcedo was sent to reduce the people of Cainta and Taytay, two small towns high up on the river Pasig, who refused to acknowledge the authority of the Spaniards, and had intrenched themselves. The first was carried by assault, with great loss on the part of the Indians, on hearing which the second surrendered. He afterwards

marched against another settlement, situated on Lake Bay, where the Indians were prepared for defence; but sending forwards an Augustine friar, the latter induced them to submit, and their example was followed by the other towns round the lake.

Salcedo advanced further into the country, and found the people of Mahayhay, fortified on a high hill; but, having perceived a path less rugged than the rest, he boldly advanced and took the position. Exploring the country he found the villages deserted, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains. He therefore returned to Lake Bay, where most of his people had been left, and learning that in the country of Camarines, there was a town, called Paracale, possessing gold mines, he resolved to go thither. Having dispatched back to Manilla, a party of men with a report of what had been done, he proceeded to Paracale with only a few troops, and endured the greatest hardships.

La Pampanga having been subdued by Colonel Goite, and a large portion of the country round the capital being now in a state of perfect submission to the Spaniards, the governor distributed tracts of land as a reward to his officers, reserving the tributes of the natives, as an impost to the king. In 1572, the Chinese whom the Spaniards had saved from shipwreck, arrived with merchandise, when the first foundation of the Acapulco trade was laid, as well as the plan of sending missionaries to China.

Nothing being yet known of the northern part of the island, Juan de Salcedo volunteered his services to go there, and he left Manilla on the 20th of May, 1572, with forty-five soldiers. On the third day, he arrived at Cape Bolinao, where he found a Chinese junk,

whose crew had got possession of an Indian chief and some of his people, intending to carry them to China. Salcedo released them, and this action so much gratified the natives, that they solicited to be put on the same footing as those of the other districts in amity with the Spaniards. He then passed along the coast of Pangasinan and Ilocos, till he arrived at Cape Boxeador, and in most of the towns was received in a friendly manner. At Bigan he built a fort, and traced out a town, where he left twenty-five of his people. Passing on to Cagayan, he made the complete circuit of the island of Luzon, and arriving at Manilla, received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his relative, Governor Legaspi, who by his prudence and probity had endeared himself to all parties, and by his zeal, energy and courage, had rendered essential services to his sovereign. Juan de Salcedo returned to the conquest of Ilocos, and this being completed, he proceeded to Camarines, where he founded the city of Santiago de Libon, on the river Vicol. The Bisayas islands were also explored, and as fast as Augustine missionaries arrived from Mexico, districts were placed under their spiritual care, this being found the best means of restraining and civilizing the natives.

In November, 1574, the Spaniards were alarmed by dangers of a novel kind. Limahon was a pirate of such renown, that the emperor of China had sent three squadrons against him, and fearful of encountering them, he resolved to remove his predatory operations to a greater distance. Having captured a Chinese junk from Manilla, he learnt the situation of the Spaniards there, and resolved to attack them. He arrived

at the island of Corregidor, at the mouth of the bay, with sixty-two junks, having on board 2000 soldiers, many seamen, 1500 women, and abundance of artillery and arms. Unperceived by the Spaniards, Sioco, a Japanese and second in command to Limahon, landed 600 men, and advanced on Manilla. At day-break they were close to the fortifications, and had surprised the house in which Colonel Goite and family lived, who with his guard were put to the sword. The advance of the Chinese was at length checked by a detachment of Spaniards, and a severe engagement took place, in which eight of the latter were killed. The remainder were nearly overpowered, when a reinforcement arrived, and after great slaughter Sioco was compelled to retire to his boats, and join Limahon in Cavite.

Juan de Salcedo, who had observed this fleet off the coast of Ilocos, where he was then engaged in making settlements on the land distributed to him, fearful for the safety of the capital, resolved instantly to proceed there with all the forces he could collect. He arrived in the bay the night after the attack, and learning how matters stood, ordered trumpets to be sounded, salutes to be fired, and lights put about his vessels, in order to induce the enemy to believe a considerable reinforcement had entered the river. The same night Limahon brought his ships close to Manilla, and the next morning Sioco landed, advancing on the capital in three divisions. One he ordered to march along the principal street to the square, where he expected the Spaniards would sally from the fort to engage them; the second was sent by the side of the river, and the third he himself led along the beach. The first division arrived at the square; but the Spaniards did not quit

the fort, though they saw their houses burning, their artillery continuing to do great havoc among the Chinese. Sioco finding he could not draw the Spaniards out of their fortifications, ordered the division in the square to push on to the assault, at the same time leading on his own party. So great was the number of assailants, that the palisade was forced, when the governor and Colonel Salcedo came up with the reserve, and, cutting their way through the Chinese, entered the fort, repulsed the enemy with great loss, and compelled him to retire to the shore.

Limahon, who had been hitherto unable to take part in the action, now entered the river; but, observing the flight of his people, ordered his ships to withdraw, thinking to make them desperate, by depriving them of all protection from him. The Chinese, however, withstood the fire pouring upon them, without venturing to return to the engagement, and Limahon found himself compelled to land with 400 fresh men. He moved onwards and burnt a few vessels drawn up on the beach; but being attacked by Colonel Salcedo at the moment he was preparing to pillage and set fire to the remainder of the town, he was finally forced to retreat. Having lost many of his people, and among them Sioco, the pirate then re-embarked his troops, and returned to the river Parañaque, where he killed all the Indians assembled in an hostile attitude. He next sailed to the province of Pangasinan, where he entered into an arrangement with the chief, and formed a strong encampment on the river Lingayen.

This was the greatest trial the Spaniards had experienced in their new conquests, as the event besides gave rise to several commotions among their own

Indians. Nothing however could appal the daring minds of these intrepid men. The natives of Manilla had committed excesses whilst the Spaniards were engaged with the Chinese; those of Tondo murdered some persons belonging to the church, and the Mindorese carried their friars as prisoners with them to the mountains. Soliman and Lacandola, the chiefs of Manilla and Tondo, apprehensive that the governor would punish them for their ill-conduct, retired to Navotas, where they stirred up a rebellion. Colonel Salcedo, accompanied by a friar, went out against them, but through the influence of the latter, a reconciliation was effected.

The governor, relieved from the anxiety occasioned by the restlessness of the Indians, resolved to follow Limahon to Pangasinan. On examining his muster-roll, he found the soldiers in Manilla did not exceed 200, and about the same number were distributed in the provinces of Bisayas and Camarines. On the 22d of March, 1575, Colonel Salcedo sailed with 150 Spaniards, and 1500 friendly Indians, and on the 29th entered the river Lingayen. On the following day he sent Captain Chaves with a party to take possession of the pirates' ships, and Captain Rivera with another, to reconnoitre his fortifications on shore. The former executed his commission with ease, the Chinese flying from their vessels the moment they were boarded. Rivera attacked the advanced works, and made dreadful carnage among the intrenched Chinese. Limahon seeing this, ordered his men under cover of an intervening grove of palm-trees. Rivera having received reinforcements, followed up his success, and compelled the Chinese to retreat to their fort, which he would have

scaled; but finding the palisade too lofty, as an expedient, he ordered his men in a body to rush against it. Being formed only of palm-trees driven in the ground, it easily gave way, and they entered the fort. The Chinese retreated to the inner intrenchment, which the Spaniards ought instantly to have attacked, and before the enemy recovered himself; but, lured by plunder, they lost the opportunity. Limahon was not slow in taking advantage of this error, and attacking them with 400 men, he drove the Spaniards out of the works. They however returned to the attack, again advanced to the second palisade, which finding it impossible to force, they withdrew to their own position.

Colonel Salcedo, seeing the difficulty of taking the fort by storm, and anxious also to spare his men and resources, resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and deprive the enemy of provisions. He also ordered a Chinese merchant who was with him to write letters to Limahon, to induce him to submit; but, the latter replied that he was considered a savage tiger, whom all were desirous of catching; he however assured them, that he should either kill them, or they him. The Spaniards threw up works beyond the range of the enemies' artillery, and guarded the mouth of the river to prevent his escape. The distance of the Spaniards' quarters enabled Limahon to collect in the fragments of his junks which had been burnt, and with these he built boats within the fort. Four months were passed in this way, when the Chinese, finding they had no other alternative, opened a canal to the river, and withdrew in the night.

In 1576, the colony had the misfortune to lose Col. Juan de Salcedo, who, on the 11th of March, died of a

fever, deeply regretted by all parties. He had borne a most distinguished part in the whole of the transactions relating to the Philippine Islands, and always behaved with the greatest valour and prudence. The number of religious missionaries had greatly increased, but they had hitherto been confined to the Augustine order, whose friars already possessed several convents, and had held two provincial chapters. About this time, seventeen Franciscans also arrived, and commenced their spiritual labours. Queen Elizabeth of England sent out the renowned Captain Drake, with a considerable squadron, for the purpose of subduing the Moluccas; but, in the straits of Magallanes he lost several of his vessels. He pursued his course, named several islands on his route, and arriving at Tidore, collected a cargo of cloves, with which and the plunder of several Spanish ships bound to New Spain, he returned to Europe.

In order to prevent other nations from obtaining a footing in the Moluccas and neighbouring islands, the Philippine governor, La Sande, resolved to conquer Borneo, and a favourable opportunity then presented itself. Sirela, king of the island, had come to Manilla and solicited the aid of the Spaniards, in order to expel his brother who had usurped his power. La Sande took with him thirty vessels, and arriving safe at Borneo, entered the river and attacked the position and residence of the usurper. The latter defended himself with great valour; but at length he was compelled to fly to the mountains, and the legitimate chief reinstated in his rights. On the return of the governor to Manilla, troops were sent against Jolo and Mindanao, and the natives compelled to pay the customary tribute; but,

owing to distance and the scarcity of friars, the conversion of the natives could not be undertaken. Captain Chaves also completed the conquest of Camarines, and there founded the city of New Caceres.

Governor Peñalosa arrived at Manilla in 1580, and the first step he took was to mark out a particular quarter, under the guns of the fort of Santiago, for the residence of the Chinese, who had become numerous. He also sent Captain Rivera to re-establish Sirela on the throne of Borneo, which his brother had a second time usurped. A Japanese pirate, who, with several vessels and many followers, had established himself in the province of Cagayan, was also dislodged; but with severe loss on the part of the Spaniards. The city of New Segovia was founded, near the Indian town of Lalo, and that of Arivalo also in the island of Panay.

The plan of taking possession of the Moluccas had been long agitated, and for this purpose orders had been transmitted from Spain. In 1582, an expedition sailed for that quarter, having on board Pablo de Lima, married to the niece of the king of Tidore, and who claimed several towns of which she had been deprived by the king of Ternate. The squadron easily took the island of Motiel, and the natives recognised De Lima as their governor. The Spaniards next proceeded to Ternate, where the natives were prepared to oppose their landing. In this however they succeeded, and laid siege to the town, when a disorder in the bowels broke out among the men, and compelled them to return to the Philippines.

In March, 1583, Governor Peñalosa died, a deep melancholy having preyed on his mind, owing to serious disputes which had arisen between the laity and the

Augustine and Franciscan friars. He was buried in the church of the former, which being set on fire by the tapers used at his funeral, the flames spread, and in a few hours nearly the whole city was destroyed, with immense loss of lives and property. In 1584, the members of the Royal *Audiencia*, or high court of justice, arrived at Manilla; an establishment deemed necessary, from the inconvenience experienced in referring cases of appeal and other weighty matters to Mexico. The following year another squadron was sent to reduce the Moluccas; but it was not more successful than the preceding one. The absence of troops, the misfortunes which had befallen the colony, and the rapacious conduct of those among whom distributions of lands had been made, had created a restlessness among the natives, who seemed anxious to break the yoke of the Spaniards. Those of La Pampanga and Manilla entered into a conspiracy with the Moors of Borneo, who visited the colony for the purposes of traffic, and formed the plan of entering the city at night, and setting fire to it. This plot was however fortunately discovered, and the ringleaders punished; but its existence shewed the precarious situation in which the Spaniards were, particularly as symptoms of discontent had likewise appeared in the islands of Samar, Ibabao, and Leyte.

The merchants of Manilla about this time received a severe blow in the loss of the Santa Anna, the rich Acapulco ship captured by Cavendish, who had fitted out five ships with the assistance of Queen Elizabeth. In 1589, no ship was sent to Acapulco, the two which had been fitted out for this purpose having been driven ashore at Cavite, in a storm. The partial insurrections

of the Indians continuing, the governor, in several instances, was compelled to resort to coercive measures. A stone fort was built where the royal gate now stands, and the cannon foundery, which hitherto had been established at Santa Anna, removed to Manilla, and several pieces of artillery cast. An hospital for Spaniards was also built and endowed, and many new arrangements made for the better defence and interior police of the colony.

In 1590, a new governor arrived with a reinforcement of 400 men, sent by the viceroy of Mexico. The city was now surrounded with a stone wall and the fort of Santiago reconstructed. The royal magazines in Manilla and Cavite were built, as well as the asylum of Santa Potencia, for the reception of the daughters of deceased military officers. An embassy arrived from the emperor of Japan, for the purpose of establishing commercial intercourse, and another was also sent by the king of Cambodia, with a present of two elephants to the governor, requesting his aid against the king of Siam, who had commenced hostilities against him. The governor excused himself, alleging that the enterprise he had in view against the Moluccas, required all his resources.

A third attempt against the Moluccas being determined upon, Governor Dasmariñas himself sailed from Cavite on the 19th October, 1593, and arriving off Santiago, encountered a strong gale, which dispersed the whole of his ships. At length his own vessel anchored at Brimstone Cape, where 150 Chinese, who were on board as sailors, incensed at some reproaches they had received from the governor, for the ill performance of their duty, concerted a plan to murder him

and his companions. They commenced their carnage at the time the Spaniards were reposing in the afternoon, by killing the governor and all those who were unable to escape in the boats or by swimming, sparing only Father Montilla, a Franciscan, and Cuellar, the governor's secretary. After this they resolved to sail for China; but, passing by the province of Ilocos, entered the port of Sinay to water, where the Indians killed twenty of them. The following day they disembarked in another part, and sacrificed an Indian convert to their gods, when they proceeded to Cochin-China, where eventually they met with the punishment due to their crimes.

In February, 1596, the flag-ship of Alvaro Mendana de Neyra, arrived at Cavite. He had sailed from Callao, the port of Lima, with four ships, to colonize the Salmon islands; but having commenced with that of Negros, near New Guinea, he died, and his wife and family came to Manilla. About this time the charitable institution of Mercy was established, for the relief of female orphans. In 1603, a fire consumed 250 houses in Manilla, as well as the convent of St. Dominic, and the hospital for the reception of Spaniards. Several mandarins at various times had arrived from China at Manilla, whose emperor evidently had views on the Philippine Islands, and a secret communication was kept up with his subjects residing there. It was at length discovered that 25,000 Chinese had plotted to enter Manilla on the eve of St. Francis, and destroy the Spaniards. There were two classes of Chinese at that time in the colony; those who came annually for the purposes of commerce, and the old residents, who occupied the quarter of the town called Parian, without

the walls, and whom the Dominicans had endeavoured to convert.

The governor exerted himself to reconcile the annual traders, who were numerous; but he failed in the attempt, and at length they assembled in open rebellion, in a town half a league from Manilla, where they threw up works, the others remaining at Parian. In the night, some of them sallied out, burnt the towns of Quiapo and Tondo, and killed many Indians. Finding all conciliatory measures fruitless, the governor sent 130 Spaniards against them, almost all of whom perished, and the heads of the three principal officers who commanded this detachment, were sent by the Chinese to Parian, as an incitement to their countrymen. Such was the imminent danger to which the Spaniards were exposed, that a general muster was made, and several parties advanced against the rebels. Even many friars volunteered on this service, particularly an Augustine, named Antonio Flores, who had served in Italy, and been present at the battle of Lepanto, previous to his taking the habit. This venerable man headed a party which he posted near a river, where the rebels must pass to join their countrymen at Parian. From this position he sallied forth and made great havoc among them; but they effected their retreat to Parian and Dilao, and intrenched themselves. Captain Gallinato, however, burnt the former, and laid waste the latter, and Captain Velasco pursued the fugitives to Cabuyao. The Chinese not being able to maintain themselves there, fled to St. Pablo in the mountains, where Captain Velasco, who had pursued them, fell, together with two Franciscans. Here the insurgents fortified themselves so strongly, that it was necessary to wait for

reinforcements from Manilla; Major Acuña, however, eventually cut off their supplies of provisions, and compelled them to quit their position or starve. In the night they retreated to Batangas, where they were pursued and destroyed. In the various actions, no less than 23,000 Chinese perished, and the several ring-leaders who had been discovered were hanged.

As soon as the colony had recovered from this dreadful calamity, a new expedition against the Moluccas was projected, on which the government at home seemed to insist. In March, 1604, 800 troops arrived from New Spain, and on the 15th January, 1606, the governor himself sailed at the head of the armament. On his arrival, he sat down before the city of Ternate, and took it on the 1st of April, with the loss of fifteen men. The king, who had fled with some of his subjects, shewed a disposition to enter into amicable terms with the Spaniards, proposing to deliver up all his fortresses, the towns in Batoquina, chiefly settled by Dutch captives or Spanish deserters; all his Christian prisoners; the islands of Marotay and Herrao, together with his artillery and ammunition. These terms were accepted, but the king was not allowed to remain there; the governor conveying him to Manilla, with those of his chiefs of whom apprehensions were entertained. Colonel Esquival was left governor of Ternate with 600 men, and Captain Alarcon remained in Tidore, at the request of the king, with 100 soldiers.

The capital being left without troops during the absence of the governor, the Japanese, who clung together and were distinct from the Chinese with whom they always lived in enmity, availed themselves of this opportunity, and took up arms against the Spaniards.

This rebellion was however soon overcome, through the mediation of the friars. On the arrival of the governor, he banished the ringleaders, and obliged the remaining Japanese to live in the town of Dilao, under the guns of the fort. Governor Acuña dying soon afterwards, the rebellion which lay smothered in the breasts of the Japanese, broke out afresh. They engaged the Spaniards in a most brave and determined manner; but at length were subdued, and not allowed to live together in any numbers, till 1621, when shops were built in their old quarter, and let out to them on account of the Franciscan friars.

At Easter, in 1609, the new governor, Juan de Silva, arrived with six companies of soldiers, and in October, a Dutch squadron appeared off the port of Iloilo, consisting of six ships and a considerable military force. On former occasions, Dutch cruisers had come into the neighbourhood of the Philippines, with whom the Spaniards were implicated through their operations in the Moluccas. The latter had also taken the Dutch governor of Malacca, and detained him till twenty-two Spaniards captured at Amboyna were released. The Dutch commodore landed his men at Iloilo, but they were repulsed by the governor, and the Spaniards subsequently captured two of the ships, and made some reprisals. The latter were annoyed at the establishment of the Dutch in Java, and more particularly in Malacca, as their squadrons cruised in the Philippine seas. The governor formed the project of attacking Malacca, and with this view he sailed for Ternate with six ships and two gallies; but, on his arrival hearing the Dutch had made formidable preparations for defence, he resolved to confine his operations, for the present, to

the reduction of Gilolo and Bataquina, whence he withdrew with the loss of 300 men.

A considerable reinforcement arrived from Cadiz in five, out of the seven, vessels which left that port in April, 1613, with 240 seamen and 100 Portuguese military on board. The governor now renewed his project against Malacca; but his emissaries informed him the Dutch were powerful in ships and men. Whilst his preparations were making, the Dutch landed in the island of Panay, and marched for the city of Arivalo, burning the convents and destroying the plantations; but they soon afterwards retired. By the end of 1616, the governor had collected the largest armament that had been seen in the Philippines, consisting of ten ships, five gallies and a number of smaller vessels, having on board 5000 men, of whom 2000 were Spaniards and Portuguese. With this armament he sailed to attack the forts of Malacca, expecting also aid from India. A fleet of vessels had, in fact, been fitted out there, but it had been defeated by the Dutch before the arrival of the Spaniards, who in Malacca were received with open arms, the Dutch having fled away. Here governor Silva died, and the armament returned to Manilla, without effecting any other object.

The Dutch had received reinforcements from Europe, and during the absence of the Spanish armament, one of their squadrons cruised near the entrance of the bay of Manilla. The deputy-governor fitted out the few vessels he was able and fortified several positions, the inhabitants and even the clergy taking up arms. The Dutch commodore wrote to demand the release of the governor of Malacca, whom they supposed was still confined by the Spaniards; but hearing he was dead,

they left their cruising ground. They afterwards brought ten ships against Oton, where they were repulsed in four assaults they made on the forts. The following year the same armament came against Playa Honda, where they were attacked by the Spaniards, who sunk one ship, burnt two, and the rest fled.

About the year 1623, insurrections took place in the islands of Bohol and Leyte, and were not quelled without bloodshed. An expedition was also sent against the Igorrots, inhabiting mountains of the interior, where gold is obtained; but this, as well as other subsequent attempts, did not prove successful. The governor of Cagayan landed on the island of Formosa and fortified that part nearest his province, in order to check the Dutch who, on the opposite side, had constructed works, with a view to obstruct the trade between China and Manilla.

In 1626, General Tabora arrived from Europe, as governor of the Philippines. with 600 men and several officers who had served with him in Flanders. He soon collected a strong naval armament, for the purpose of driving the Dutch from Formosa. Being however driven back by contrary winds, part of the vessels were sent against the Dutch at Siam, where several of their junks were destroyed. Notwithstanding the interruptions of this active enemy at sea, the trade and emigration from China had been so continued, that by 1639, there were upwards of 30,000 Chinese residing in the colony, some of whom had become planters in Calamba and Biñan. A fresh mutiny broke out, and spreading to those of Santa Cruz, Parian and Manilla, they at last converted the church of St. Peter Macati into a strong hold and assembled there. The governor sent 200

Spaniards and a large body of Indians against them, and took their position. Dispersed into separate bands, they plundered and committed great atrocities. The Spaniards pursued and did great havoc among them; but being reduced to 7000, they at length surrendered. This melancholy event plunged Manilla in great distress, owing to the loss of so valuable a class of people as the labouring Chinese were; though the Indians remained tranquil, a circumstance attributable rather to their hatred of the latter than their attachment to the Spaniards.

In 1640, Portugal separated from Spain, and her possessions in India soon followed her example. This year also the Dutch reduced Malacca, and it was feared these two events would plunge the Philippines in difficulties. Dutch cruisers were stationed to intercept the Acapulco ships; but being frustrated in their design, they planned the capture of the remainder of the island of Formosa, with a view to obstruct the trade to China, and facilitate the conquest of the Philippines. So great were the apprehensions entertained of the vicinity of the Dutch and the activity of their cruisers, that the new governor, Don Diego Faxardo, who took possession of his government on 11th August, 1644, deemed it necessary to unite all his forces. Jolo was evacuated, when it was discovered the natives had solicited aid from the Dutch at Batavia, whose armaments attacked the port of Caldera and were repulsed: but the next year they again appeared in the Philippine seas with twelve ships, intending to attempt the capture of Cavite; the garrison, however, having had ample time for preparations, made a good defence, and the Dutch commanding officer received a wound, of which he died.

The enemy then retired and disembarked in La Pampanga, where the chief magistrate collected 600 Indians and fortified himself, as well as he was able, in the convent of Abucay. The Dutch advanced to the assault, when the Indians fled in such disorder, that 400 were killed in the pursuit. The Dutch deeming it prudent not to remove too far from their ships, returned on board, but landing a second time at Samal they were repulsed, and after cruising some time, to intercept the trade, they returned to Batavia.

Salicala, son of the king of Jolo, and Cachile, chief of Tuptup in Borneo, infested the Archipelago with their squadrons and committed great depredations on the coasts. The Spaniards encountered the latter near the island of Burias, and his fleet was dispersed and himself killed; on hearing which Salicala retired to Jolo, and his attention was soon taken up with disputes regarding the succession to the throne. In order to check and punish the Borneans, Major Monforte landed there, burnt all the towns within his reach, as well as great quantities of provisions and many vessels, and brought away 200 prisoners.

Whilst the governor was engaged in repelling the attacks of the Dutch and Moors, the natives in several parts of the colony shewed symptoms of discontent. In Palapag they murdered a Jesuit and plundered the church and convent; and those of Camarines also broke out in open rebellion. Zebu wavered in its loyalty, in Caraga many Spaniards and friars were murdered, and the Bisayas would have been lost, if a stop had not been put to these acts in due time. A force was sent against the rebels of Palapag who had fortified themselves on a hill, under the command of Sumoroy, their

leader. The Spaniards advanced in the most undaunted manner, and as soon as their outposts were taken, the Indians fled with great precipitation. Sumoroy attempted to escape, but his own people killed him and sent in his head as a peace-offering to the Spaniards. Dabayo, the ringleader of the rebellion in Caraga, got possession of the fort by stratagem, and the Spaniards were obliged to escape in a boat. Tranquillity was, however, soon afterwards restored, and the ringleaders delivered up to justice.

Severe as were these trials, a greater calamity still awaited the colonists. On the day of St. Andrew and the anniversary of the victory gained over Limahon, about eight at night, nearly all Manilla was destroyed by an earthquake. The convent and church of St. Augustine were spared; but almost all the public edifices were thrown down, and above 600 persons buried in the ruins. This calamity extended also to some of the other islands. In Cagayan, a hill was rased from its foundation, and in its fall overwhelmed a town and its inhabitants. During sixty days a succession of earthquakes prevailed, and many extraordinary changes took place, owing to the strong convulsions of nature. The people of the capital were obliged to live in huts in the fields; but gradually the houses were rebuilt, and the college of St. John de Letran founded for the education of orphans.

In 1653 the Mindanayans issued from their ports to carry on their predatory excursions, although at the time ostensibly at peace with the Spaniards. The latter sent two Jesuits and some merchants to Corolat, in the character of ambassadors; but the islanders murdered them and continued their depredations. An in-

surrection also took place in the province of La Pampanga, owing to the hard service the Indians had to endure in cutting wood for the king's dock-yard. It was, however, soon suppressed by the governor, who went there with a detachment of troops; but this bad example had previously operated on the natives of Pangasinan, who also rebelled and chose an Indian, called Marlong, as their king. They murdered the chief-magistrate of the province and his whole family; troops, however, arriving from Manilla, the Dominicans had such influence over the people, that they were restored to their duty without firing a gun, and Marlong was delivered up and executed. A similar revolt also took place in Ilocos, but being quelled without great difficulty, the ringleaders were hung.

The events which gave rise to the occupation of the China throne by the Tartar dynasty, drove numbers from their country, who collected under Cogseng, the son of a general who had fallen a victim to the resentment of the new emperor. To revenge the death of his father Cogseng turned pirate and ravaged the Chinese coasts and islands. At length he landed 100,000 men on the island of Formosa, in the cultivated part and opposite that where the Dutch had their fortifications. The latter had 2000 Europeans on the island and abundance of artillery and shipping. Cogseng soon invested the fortress of Tayguan, when the Dutch capitulated, after a seven months siege. Elated with this success, Cogseng determined to become master of the Philippines, and as a preliminary step, sent an ambassador to demand the allegiance of the colony, who arrived at Manilla on 10th May, 1662. The governor instantly collected all his forces and prepared for defence. Steps

were taken to send the Chinese out of the colony, on learning which some retired to the mountains and others took up arms. The governor sent back the ambassador; but on his arrival he found the pirate Cogseng dead of a fever, and thus the islands were released from the imminent dangers by which they were threatened. Cogseng left a son, who succeeded to his father's power, but not possessing the same warlike spirit, he sent an ambassador to Manilla to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce. Although the expedition had not reached the Philippines, the effects of the threatened danger fell heavy on the colony, as all the convents and churches near the capital were destroyed, to prevent the enemy from converting them into military stations. Ternate, Calamianes and Zamboanga were also evacuated and the garrisons assembled for the defence of Manilla, which, together with the disaffection of the Chinese residents, greatly deranged the affairs of the colony.

For several years, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the Philippines were involved in disputes and contentions of a most serious kind, which wholly occupied the public attention. In 1703, the fortifications were strengthened, in consequence of the war declared by Spain against the English and Dutch, and in 1709, Count Lizarraga arrived as the new governor, when the first step taken was to send out of the islands all the Chinese who were in the habit of remaining behind after the departure of the junks. The safety of the state required this measure, for experience had proved they could not be trusted, although the country was benefited by their industry. Their settlement had originally been allowed, under the plea of cultivating the land; but

it was soon found this was a mere excuse. They became traders, adulterating the weights and measures, as well as many colonial commodities. In fact, they had become monopolizers, creating artificial scarcities, and in other respects oppressing the community.

In 1710, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Jesuits, aided by the government, to colonize the Pelew Islands and convert the natives; and in the same year three English ships appeared off the coast of California, for the purpose of intercepting the Philippine trade, when one galleon was captured. General Bustamante arrived as governor in 1717, and soon involved himself in dreadful disputes, as well with the members of the *Audiencia*, as the clergy and some of the principal merchants, owing partly to his intemperate character, and partly to various suits he instituted for the recovery of old debts due to the treasury. Disgraceful acts of violence took place, which eventually ended in an open mutiny, when the people, headed by the religious orders, went up to the palace in procession, and the guards opposing no resistance, they rushed in to seize the governor, and in the struggle both he and his son were killed. The chief inhabitants, who had been confined through the injustice of the governor, were then released; but this unhappy affair produced great confusion in the country.

In 1739, Governor La Torrea rrived, and soon afterwards war being declared between England and Spain, Commodore Anson entered the Pacific, and the well-known capture of the galleon took place. This loss was severely felt by the Manilla merchants, who fitted out four ships to intercept the Commodore and the China fleet, but they were too late. Nothing very remarkable occurred in the affairs of the Philippine Islands that is

not related elsewhere, till the year 1754, when the greatest irruption of the Moors took place that had hitherto been known! They entered with fire and sword in all directions, carrying away numerous captives, and by this calamity the colony was reduced to a most deplorable situation. In the month of December a terrible shock of an earthquake was also felt, and the volcano called the Taal, situated in the centre of the lake of Bombon, in the province of Batangas, threw out such an immense quantity of cinders, that four neighbouring towns were completely ruined. At Manilla, although twenty leagues distant, the atmosphere was entirely obscured in the middle of the day: and at Cavite, a little nearer, the darkness resembled that of midnight. The centre of this volcano contains a large quantity of water, and those who live near it, dread a repetition of scenes to which their ancestors were exposed.

Notwithstanding the rigorous measures repeatedly adopted against the Chinese, and the orders of the government at home not to allow their residence in the colony, numbers still remained there. Governor Arandia, about the year 1757, ordered all those to be expelled who were not Christians, and appropriated the suburb of San Fernando for the reception of such as might arrive annually for the purposes of traffic. Attempts were also made to restore the missions of the Bataan islands, where the Dominicans had been obliged to withdraw; but the enterprise was not attended with permanent success till 1783, and since they have been found very burdensome to the government, owing to their poverty and sterility, which renders it necessary for nearly all their supplies to go from Manilla. Gover-

nor Arandia died in May, 1759, and was succeeded by Don Manuel Roxo, a clergyman and native of Tala, in New Spain, who had also been created archbishop of Manilla. Under his administration the Philippine capital was taken by the British, a most important event in the history of these islands, and deserving of more particular notice.

The wars waged between the British and French, in the East Indies from the year 1749 to the general peace, in 1763, had carried thither larger and more effective bodies of European troops than before had been assembled in Asia, which, when no longer authorized to fight against each other, employed their arms as auxiliaries in the contests existing between the princes of the country. War being renewed in 1756, it was followed by a series of successful efforts, which nearly deprived the French of the whole of their possessions in that part of the globe: and considerable funds having been granted by parliament, in 1762, for the East India service, Admiral Cornish was sent against the island of Bourbon, the last settlement held by the French. He was to have been joined by Commodore Keppel from England, with a body of land forces; but not meeting with him, he returned to Madras without effecting any thing. In the mean time, war having been declared against Spain, Admiral Cornish altered his plan, and resolved to attack Manilla. The forces destined for this expedition, were part of the 79th regiment, a company of artillery, 600 sepoys, a company of caffres, one of topasses, another of pioneers, two companies of Frenchmen, 600 lascars, a battalion of 550 seamen and 270 marines, commanded by General Draper. They anchored in Manilla bay on 23d September,

and found the Spaniards totally unprepared, and even ignorant of the war existing between England and Spain. After an ineffectual summons, the troops were landed the following day in front of the Polvorista or powder manufactory, two miles to the south of the city, protected by the fire of three frigates. They successively took possession of the churches of Malate, La Hermita, San Juan de Bagunbayan and Santiago, and put themselves under cover. The Spaniards advanced out of the city with 400 men and two field-pieces: but they were soon driven back with the loss of one of their field-pieces; indeed they had lost the most favourable opportunity of defending themselves at the time the British were landing, for the surf then ran very high, and the men were up to the waist in water. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the number of the garrison was small, and not exceeding 600 men, some part of whom were Indians.

The superiority of the British in repelling this sortie was so evident, that General Draper sent a second summons, when a spirited negative was returned. Besides the walls and bastions, the city was defended by a wet ditch, a covered way and glacis. It was, however observed, that the ditch did not go round the bastion of San Diego, and this was early made the projected point of attack. The extent of the city rendered it impossible for so small a body of besiegers to invest it, by which means two sides were constantly open to the besieged; nor could the British take possession of the posts of Minondo, Tondo and Santa Cruz, which commanded the river and communications with the country. In a short time, the besiegers completed a battery for small shells, which played on the bastion of

San Diego, and on the 27th the governor sent out a flag of truce, apologizing for some barbarous acts committed by the Indians, and requesting that a nephew of his, captured on his arrival in the bay, might be restored. This gentleman had just arrived from Acapulco in the Philipino galleon, which had entered a port in one of the other islands, and landed her money. Admiral Cornish sent two ships after her, but instead of her, they captured the Trinidad, which had sailed for Acapulco a few days before the British arrived, and been delayed by contrary winds.

On the 28th, part of the garrison, intermixed with Indians, sallied out, and mistaking a British officer, who was accompanying the governor's nephew with a flag of truce, both were killed; they were, however, driven in with great loss. On the 29th, the men of war opened their fire on that part of the city forming the point of attack; but the shallows prevented them from approaching sufficiently near. On the 1st and 2d October, the weather was very tempestuous, the squadron in danger, and all communication with it cut off. A store-ship was driven ashore, yet, even in that situation was of great service, as she enfiladed the beach to the S., and checked a body of Indians who menaced the Polvorista and rear of the besiegers. Notwithstanding the heavy rains, a battery for 24-pounders was soon completed, and another for large mortars, the besieged giving little interruption, and seemingly trusting for their defence to the elements. On the 3d, these batteries opened on the San Diego bastion, of which the guns were silenced in a few hours, and in the night another battery began to play on the bastion of St. Andrew's, which annoyed the flank of the besiegers.

A heavy cannonading being constantly kept up, that part of the walls on which the guns bore, was soon dismantled and destroyed, when the besieged having received a reinforcement of 5000 Indians, made a sortie on the 4th, in three divisions. They advanced by different routes, the first against the church of Santiago, the second against Malate and La Hermita, and the third was destined to attack the seamen cantoned on the beach. The latter was the first point attacked by 1000 Indians, and their approach was favoured by thick bushes, growing on the banks of a rivulet, which they had crossed in the night. A reinforcement being sent to support the seamen, the Indians were repulsed with the loss of 300; but if their skill and weapons had been equal to their strength and ferocity, the consequences would have been serious, for although armed only with bows, arrows and lances, they advanced up to the very muzzles of the guns, and repeated their assaults in a most determined manner. Scarcely was this affair ended, when the church of Santiago was attacked, and the sepoys forced from it. The Indians took possession of the building, but the European soldiers kept their position in the rear, and reinforcements arriving, the Indians were driven in, after losing seventy men, and the British forty.

This was the last effort made by the garrison, and after it most of the Indians returned home. On the 5th, the fire from the batteries had been so incessant, that the breach appeared practicable, and the orillon of St. Andrew was also silenced. On the morning of the 6th the besiegers assembled in the church of Santiago, for the purpose of storming the town, and under a general discharge of artillery and mortars, rushed for-

ward to the attack. The breach was easily passed, and the British met with little resistance, except at the royal gate and from the tops of the houses surrounding the main square. In the guard-house, over the royal gate, 100 Spaniards and Indians who refused to surrender, were put to the sword, and a much larger number drowned in escaping across the river. The governor and principal officers retired to fort Santiago, and the British advanced by the main street to the palace, whither the archbishop and his council immediately proceeded and delivered themselves up as prisoners. Proposals of capitulation were then made to the British commanders, on the part of the governor, royal *audiencia* and city and commerce of Manilla, stipulating chiefly for the exercise of the religion of the country, the security of private property, and a continuation of the powers of the *audiencia*, municipality, &c. These terms being accepted, with some restrictions, and mutually signed, fort Santiago was delivered up to the British, and the officers and garrison admitted as prisoners of war, amounting to 261 rank and file.

Plundering commenced, though it would seem without any express authority from the British commander, at least if it is possible to judge from the orders of the day, given at the time, and the subsequent agreement mutually signed to the contrary. Certain it is, that a dreadful pillage did take place, though the Spanish accounts state that guards were placed in the nunneries for their protection, at the request of the archbishop. The Spaniards affirm that this plunder lasted forty hours, though they attribute the greatest part of the excesses to the Indians, who discovered their masters' riches, in order to participate in the booty. The suburbs of

Santa Cruz and Binondoe were also exposed to the most dreadful ravages, and the greatest atrocities committed by the Indians on the fugitives from the city. The Spaniards acknowledge that, on the following day, General Draper exerted himself to stop the pillage, and on the 16th a more formal capitulation, called "Conditions on which the city of Manilla shall be preserved from plunder," &c. was mutually signed. The 3d article of this document stipulated that the fort of Cavite should be surrendered to the British; the 4th, that a ransom of four millions of dollars should be paid, and the 5th, that all the other dependencies should equally be delivered up, &c.

An order to the commandant of Cavite was sent by the archbishop to surrender the fortress; but the garrison, consisting of 300 men, refused and went off into the country with their arms, when a British detachment entered the castle. Contributions on the inhabitants were then commenced, though the sum obtained, including church ornaments, the archbishop's plate, rings, and breast cross, together with the funds of the charitable institutions did not exceed 500,046 dollars. To make up the deficiency, the cargo of the Philipino was demanded; but this money was no longer under the control of the archbishop, and in fact afterwards greatly aided in the defence of the interior. The archbishop also sent for 111,000 dollars he had placed in safety near Lake Bay; the Franciscans however, who had the ascendancy in that part of the country, refused to give this sum up and had it conveyed across the mountains to the missionaries of Ituy. In the end, every thing valuable, whether public or private, was given up, although much discontent and misunderstanding took

place on this subject. The 5th clause was rendered ineffectual, from the circumstances hereafter mentioned.

On the 2d November, Manilla and Cavite, together with all their appurtenances, were formally delivered up to representatives of the East India Company, and the whole of the troops brought from Madras left to garrison them. Before his departure, the general issued a proclamation, offering to exempt the Indians from the payment of tribute, if they would swear allegiance to the king of Great Britain; but the inefficacy of this measure, as well as others equally resorted to, soon proved, that although the Spaniards, after a gallant defence, considering the unprepared and weak state they were in, had been compelled to yield up the possession of a city fortified only on a scale to resist an Asiatic enemy, this example and the subsequent conditions imposed on the captive authorities, had no influence whatever on the interior, for reasons, it is now time to explain.

The day previous to the fall of Manilla, the archbishop and his council sent Sr. Anda into the country, with full powers and orders to maintain the islands in obedience to the king of Spain. He arrived at Bulacan, where he was joined by numerous fugitives from the capital, and calling together the chief magistrates of the province, the Augustine friars, and other persons of influence, they deliberated on the best measures to be adopted. The friars offered to raise troops and conduct them to the field, all renewed their assurances of loyalty, and Sr. Anda was acknowledged governor of the islands. Bacolor, the capital of the province of La Pampanga, was also fixed upon as the temporary seat of government, and every exertion made to rouse and arm the country against its invaders.

For the [illegible] government of Manilla it had been regulated, that the British commander should hold the military department, and the archbishop the civil and political one, a charge he had the weakness to accept, and which brought upon him the just reproaches of his countrymen. His first step was to draw bills on the Madrid treasury, although the war was still waging, for the balance of the Manilla ransom, as it was called, and the refusal to pay them, gave rise to warm disputes between the two governments at home, when the claim was eventually waved. To this Junius alludes in one of his letters to Sir William Draper, who, he says, had given up the Manilla ransom and abandoned the gallant army, in whose favour, on his return to Europe, he complained, threatened, and even appealed to the public in print. Sir William answers, that all his endeavours to obtain payment had been fruitless, "as the ministers of the day were fearful of involving the country in a fresh war for private concerns." The archbishop also joined the British commissioners, in order to promote the submission of the interior, and the first step taken was to declare Sr. Anda to be a seditious person and deserving of capital punishment, as well as the Augustine friars who had joined his party, and resolved to defend themselves. The archbishop sent several remonstrances to the new governor, urging him to desist from his enterprise, and the British commissioners issued proclamations against him and his partisans, but to no effect. Sr. Anda answered them in the most firm and vigorous manner, refusing to obey authorities who could be considered in no other light than as prisoners, and vowing to execute the orders confided to him previous to the fall of the capital.

Through a fortunate circumstance, copies of all the

public papers relating to the occupation of Manilla by the British, and their views on the interior, came into the hands of the writer of this sketch; but notwithstanding they were never laid before the public in this country, his confined limits on the present occasion, at least, allow him only to make a partial use of them. Conformably to their contents, it would seem that the archbishop remained firm to the British, and died on 30th January, 1764, previous to the evacuation, when he was buried with the greatest pomp and splendour. No doubt he felt keenly the misfortunes in which he and the country were involved, and the error he had committed in joining the party of an enemy, though possibly his motives were good, preyed on his spirits, for, a few days before his death, he wrote to his own sovereign, and in a repentant tone assured him, that he should have been happy if he had visited the breach at the moment of assault, and died by a canon-ball.

In the mean time, Sr. Anda reestablished the royal *audiencia*, regulated the military and political government, assembled troops, cast cannon, manufactured gunpowder, saved the money from the ship Philipino, and as his second in command, named Don Pedro Josef de Bustos, an Asturian youth, who afterwards rendered the most essential services. The British commissioners, perceiving that threats and decrees were of no avail, resolved to take up a position on the river Pasig, in order to open a passage for provisions from Lake Bay. A party of 500 men were sent on this service, and as soon as they arrived in front of Maybonga, General Bustos retreated to Maraquina. The British passed the river with little molestation, when the Indians fled, and in their confusion at the bridge near the convent, numbers of them were drowned. They were pursued as far as

the river Bamban, and the British fortified the position they took, and held it till the peace. A party of Pampanga Indians soon afterwards advanced as far as Maysilo, two leagues from Manilla; but they were dislodged and the place burnt.

The Chinese resident in the country had declared for the British, who being greatly in want of men, put many of them in their ranks. Another detachment of 600 men was sent by sea to dislodge the Spaniards, who had fortified themselves in the convent of Bulacan. The squadron left the bay on 18th January, 1763, with an intention to enter the bar of Binoangan, and being prevented by contrary winds, they proceeded by Pumarava, near Malolos, where they landed without any opposition and marched towards Bulacan. The convent was attacked, and in the defence made, the Chinese, who accompanied the British, suffered severely. The gates were however soon forced, and great slaughter ensued; the Chinese particularly being anxious to avenge the death of their countrymen. After holding this position for some time, and being constantly harassed by active guerillas, the British evacuated and burnt the convent.

Considerable desertion now prevailed, and the Spanish regulars, as well as many Frenchmen who had accompanied the British, went out to join the forces assembling in the interior, and in consequence of this, the Spaniards remaining in the city were restricted to the quarters nearest the sea. The commanding officer of Pasig, advanced towards the lake and the province of Batangas, with a view to intercept the money of the Philipino. He took with him 80 men, passed Tunasan, Biñan and Santa Rosa, and then embarked for Pagsanhan, the capital of La Laguna. Returning to Calamba, he traversed the province of Batangas; but on arriving

at Lipa, and understanding that the money had been ordered to Santor, a town of Pampanga, he returned to his position.

By this time, Sr. Anda having assembled and equipped a large body of men, he ordered General Bustos to encamp at Malinta, a league and a half from Manilla, and this position was strengthened with redoubts and palisades. From this point the Spaniards frequently advanced to the outskirts of the capital, and, on one occasion, carried away the bells from the town of Quiapo, for the purpose of founding cannon, although they met with considerable resistance. The British, alarmed at these incursions, called in their piquets and dug ditches, in order to have a less extended line to cover. On the 27th June, a sortie was made, with a view to dislodge the Spaniards from Malinta; but on arriving at the banks of the intervening river, and not venturing to pass it in face of the enemy, the British retired to Maysilo, and Bustos changed his position to Meycavayan.

These were the last military actions which took place, for on the 23d July an English frigate arrived with the preliminaries of peace, and a cessation of hostilities consequently followed; several unhappy rencontres as well as great dissensions and misunderstandings, however subsequently occurred, owing to the disorganized state to which the country was reduced, and the competition and enmity of the chiefs. Nothing could be more alarming than the situation of the interior, during the whole of the eighteen months the British held possession of the capital. Through this event numbers of criminals were released from the prisons, and, uniting in bands, marauded and plundered through the country, frequently perpetrating wanton and horrid murders. At length

the farmers and settlers, wearied out by these attacks, were compelled to abandon their estates and leave their cattle and effects in possession of these banditti. Owing to their vicinity, the provinces of Tondo and Cavite bowed to the conqueror and were overawed by his presence; but several of the others were convulsed, and became the theatres of atrocities and acts of private revenge. Numbers of friars, curates and Spanish laity were murdered by lawless bands, roving about the country, particularly in the province of Batangas. In that of La Laguna also the Indians behaved in the most savage and barbarous manner. The provinces of Bulucan and Pampanga however remained firm in their allegiance, and witnessed only the crimes of a few individuals. The Chinese also rose and assembled in the town of Uava, whence they were eventually dislodged with great loss. The Indians of Cagayan and Ilocos equally broke out in open rebellion, and elected a chief of the name of Silang. They demanded to be released from the tribute, and, under this plea, visited the estates and defenceless places with fire and sword. The district-magistrate having no forces to aid him, was soon obliged to abandon his post, and in a short time the whole province of Ilocos submitted to the influence of Silang. This chief was however murdered by one of his own people, on the 28th May, 1763, six months after he had commenced his power and at a moment when he was planning a general massacre of the friars and whites.

The most obstinate rebellion of the Indians, however, took place in the province of Pangasinan, where it broke out in the town of Binalatongan, on 3d Nov. 1762, when the magistrate began to collect the tribute. Every possible exertion was made by Sr. Anda to put

down this rebellion; but it increased, and when the rebels were dislodged and driven from the plains, they retired and fortified themselves in the mountains; nor was tranquillity perfectly restored there till March, 1765, when in this undertaking it was found 70 Spaniards, 140 loyal Indians, and upwards of 10,000 of the rebels had perished.

The 31st of March, 1764, was the day appointed for the formal surrender of Manilla and the other places held by the British, conformably to the general treaty of peace, and of them Sr Anda, who had so bravely defended the interior, and so successfully resisted the inroads of anarchy, took possession in the name of his sovereign, although, in the mean time, another governor had arrived in a frigate from New Spain. The capture and occupation of Manilla are estimated to have cost the British 1000 lives, sickness included, many of whom, it is true, were Asiatics; but the treasure expended was considerable. As a military achievement, the taking of the city of Manilla certainly does honour to the troops and officers employed, and proves their courage and perseverance; still, as a political object, it is a query whether it was worth the sacrifices made. Nothing could be more visionary than to suppose that a handful of men could effect the permanent conquest of an extended range of country, divided by nature into separate portions, so as to render it an establishment of value to the British government, although it was possible to obtain possession of even the strongest points. It was still more so to imagine that it could become an advantageous dependency on the East India Company, an humiliation to which the inhabitants would never have submitted. Whilst the British were in possession,

they were cut off from every part of the country their army and navy did not overawe, and, although aided, in the person of the archbishop, by the strongest moral power the colony could afford them, the administration, during their stay in the capital, was most unfortunate.

It is, in fact, melancholy to read the official papers and proclamations issued at the time, by the British commissioners, filled with threats and denunciations, and by which they seem to have mixed themselves up with the acrimonious parties which convulsed the country previous to their arrival. They had not a political, or indeed any other, inducement to hold forth, that could, for a moment, have influenced a class of people such as the Philippine islanders are; and even if they had succeeded in there destroying the power of Spain altogether, they would have gained nothing, as far as regards the interior, for the history of the country proves they could never have secured an ascendancy over the inhabitants. They might have broken the bonds in which the Indians were held, merely by the tie of religion and the presence of their pastors, yet this could have produced no permanent good; on the contrary, it would have plunged the islands into a dreadful state of anarchy, and made them a prey to the ravages of lawless banditti, who, when they had exhausted the plunder ashore, and there found no more white victims on whom to satiate their vengeance, would have commenced the occupation of pirates at sea. It excites horror to read the details of murder and desolation which took place in the interior, from the moment the old administration, the empire of the laws, and the influence of the missionaries were shaken, and it is a query whether any government could have been satis-

fied with dispossessing an enemy of a country, under such a responsibility, and sacrifices so great, or indeed consent to make use of instruments so dreadful as the infuriated and savage Indians must be.

The neglect of the Spanish ministers in not conveying out timely advice of the rupture with Great Britain, was the real cause of this misfortune to Manilla, for if the governor had only been in time to destroy the churches and massive buildings situated beyond the walls, which served as fortresses and gave immediate shelter to the British, as was formerly the plan of General Arandia, though at the time opposed by the friars, so small a force could never have met with success. The season of the year was also most unfavourable, and placed the squadron in the utmost danger. It must further be acknowledged that, if the first landing of the troops had been opposed with the same vigour as the sorties were afterwards made, the fate of the expedition would have been rendered very precarious; and if the timely arrival of the advices of peace, signed in Europe, had not released the garrison from a most galling duty, at the moment Sr Anda had prepared a large force, and pacified the interior, the consequences must have been extremely serious, so great was the state of desperation to which the inhabitants were driven by their sufferings, both within and without the city.

These remarks are not made with a view to depreciate the merits and execution of an arduous military enterprise, in its result more fortunate than reasonably could be expected, if all the contingencies are duly weighed; but rather for the purpose of pointing out the difficulties and uncertainty of operations of this kind,

when the invader does not carry with him means sufficient to protect and shield the unoffending inhabitants from anarchy, butchery, and rapine, or has nothing better to offer to them than a yoke in itself more hateful than the one he comes to dislodge. This was literally the case in our attack on the Philippine Islands, and these observations, resulting from the evidence of facts and existing circumstances, might have been dispensed with, if the writer was not aware that a second project of attack was more recently formed, possibly without mature reflexion and a full knowledge of all the dangers to be encountered. Whoever pays attention to the history of the past, and considers the sacrifices under which the Spaniards effected the conquest of this portion of the Indian Archipelago, will readily confess that the nations, holding commercial intercourse with China and India, are under the greatest obligations to them for keeping in check a band of lawless pirates, whose increase and impunity must always endanger navigation in that distant and secluded quarter. It has uniformly been the object of Spain to make the Philippine Islands the centre of her mercantile operations in Asia, in order to supply her American dominions, and the precious metals derived from the latter, were sent to the markets where the assortments of goods originated. This beneficial trade must consequently have ceased from the moment her power was destroyed, and the perusal of the present volume, particularly of the two last chapters, will amply prove what must have been the consequences when that faith which holds the moral elements of the world together, and, in the instance alluded to, alone restrains hordes of unruly and unlettered savages within the bounds of control, had lost its

influence, and the natives reduced to the same state in which they were when first conquered.

As soon as the British squadron left the bay of Manilla, Sr. Anda delivered up the government to the commanding officer who had arrived from Mexico, and, in company with his brave coadjutor, Bustos, departed for Spain, where he was received in the most enthusiastic manner. As a just reward for his services, he was appointed governor of the islands he had defended from an enemy and preserved to his sovereign, and left Cadiz on the 11th January, 1770. He arrived by the Cape of Good Hope at Manilla, in the middle of July, and with the greatest zeal and disinterestedness, laboured to repair the ravages of which he himself had been a witness. The fortifications, troops, and navy experienced his particular attention. He sent several expeditions against the Jolonese and Mindanayans who infested the Archipelago, and dispatched the frigate Deseada to the coast of Malabar, for the purpose of forming commercial relations. He improved the plan for the administration of the revenue, encouraged agriculture, industry, and commerce, and in the year 1771, established the Board of Trade. Nevertheless, he had the misfortune to make many enemies, who possibly envied the honours with which his sovereign had remunerated his firmness and zeal. Towards the close of his life, he found himself involved in disputes and dissensions, which no doubt hastened his death, at the end of October, 1776, and in the 76th year of his age. Bustos returned to Manilla with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, but did not meet with that confidence and encouragement he merited. With wounded feelings he withdrew from the capital into the country, where he

devoted himself to hunting, of which he was passionately fond. Having overheated himself in this amusement, he met with a premature death in 1773.

Don Josef Basco, afterwards Count de la Conquista, and admiral of the navy, succeeded to the command of the Philippine Islands. The hopes entertained by the colony from his abilities and activity were soon realized, and by his judicious arrangements the state of the country was materially improved. The capture by the British, and the events which immediately followed, also excited the attention of the Spanish cabinet to this distant settlement, and orders were sent out to place the capital in a good state of defence. The navigation from Spain to the Philippines, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, was also allowed, and several vessels of war were dispatched to add to the protection of the islands. The Royal Philippine Company was established, as well as a society for the encouragement of agriculture, industry, and useful arts; but to these and other subsequent improvements and events, sufficient allusion is made in the body of the work. It is therefore necessary to pass on to other subjects, more immediately connected with the views of the writer.

Manilla is situated at the mouth of the river Pasig, which, in a considerable stream, descends from the large lake of Bay, estimated at twenty-five leagues in circumference. In front is an extensive bay, thirty leagues round, surrounded by a rich and well cultivated country, studded with hamlets, villas, and convents, and affording a beautiful perspective. The situation is however deemed dangerous, owing to the inundations of Lake Bay, as well as the vicinity of volcanos, and the frequency of earthquakes. The shipping port is at

Cavite, situated to the S. W. and at the distance of 3½ leagues by sea. Here the vessels anchor behind a long strip of land, forming one side of the bay, load and unload, the king's dock-yard and stores being also there. Near the entrance of the bay, estimated at 3½ leagues wide, is the high mountain of Mariveles, which gives name to the surrounding district. At the distance of a league, and near the entrance, is the island of Corregidor, thus forming two passages. The one usually used by ships is that to the N. called the Mariveles Passage, unless the winds should render it necessary to pass through the other.

The Indian Archipelago constitutes the largest group of islands on the globe, as well as one of its most interesting subdivisions. The Philippines form the eastern and northern boundary, and the number of islands, bearing that name, exceeds forty, though those deserving of notice are not more than thirteen, many of the rest being small and uninhabited. The annexed map will suffice to shew their position, and a correct idea of their relative importance will be collected from the general contents of this volume, and their respective returns of population. Luzon and Mindanao are the largest; the first being 138 leagues in its greatest length, 48 wide, and 360 in circumference; and the second, 75 leagues long, 50 wide, and 260 in circumference.

To the philosophic eye, these islands present a striking and majestic spectacle. In many parts covered with basalt, lava, ashes, &c. they also exhibit ruins of both the animal and vegetable kingdom. In the bowels of the earth, sulphur is constantly burning, and the materials for volcanos always preparing. This continual agitation of nature, the vicinity to the tropics, and the

humidity derived from the ocean, as well as the high mountains and lofty forests, no doubt are the chief causes of the great fertility with which they are distinguished. They contain wide forests and stupendous trees, and the greatest part of the birds, quadrupeds, plants, and fruits, for which Asia is remarkable, are there found of a superior class, besides many productions not met with elsewhere. The sea, rivers, and lakes, afford fish in great abundance, and the earth teems with numerous and valuable minerals. The vicinity to the tropics, gives uniformity to the climate, as well as to the natural productions and character of the inhabitants; but the climate, although usually mild, sometimes is exposed to great changes. During one part of the year, the sea and land winds keep up a temperature that could scarcely be expected from the situation of these islands; whilst, at another, the atmosphere burns with lightning, and the country is inundated with torrents of rain. The violent winds, called *baguios*, which prevail from June to January, do great havoc both on sea and land. In the island of Luzon, divided as it is, by a chain of mountains, the seasons vary greatly with regard to mild weather and rain. In the provinces facing the west, the sky is serene when the east winds blow, and in those exposed to the east, when the west winds set in. In the midst of these periodical variations, however, a perpetual spring is experienced; and cold, snow, and hail, are unknown. The difference between the length of day and night is scarcely sensible; the trees never lose their leaves, and the earth always wears a green and smiling aspect. The plants and flowers are sightly and aromatic; the fruits nutritive and exquisite in taste;

the air is healthy, and the natives live to an old age; although foreigners, through the effects of a too copious perspiration, are weakened by the heat till they become accustomed to the climate. When the Spaniards first arrived in these islands, they found scarcely any other aliment than rice; now wheat and other grains are abundant, as well as most of the useful productions of the old world. The same increase has extended to horses, horned cattle, hogs, and stags; indeed sheep alone have degenerated, owing to the dampness of the climate.

This portion of the Indian Archipelago has not been sufficiently explored, so as to furnish an adequate idea of the natural and other curiosities therein contained. The volcanos constitute a prominent figure, as before noticed. That of Mayon, situated between the provinces of Albay and Camarines, is of a sugar-loaf figure, and of such an elevation as to be discovered at an immense distance at sea. In Mindanao is another that serves as a land-mark; and in many parts warm springs are found. The woods abound in pigeons and quails; partridges, woodcocks, &c. are also met with. The *tabon* is a bird that lays eggs, similar to those of the turkey, and buries them deep in the sands on the sea-shore, and when hatched by the heat of the sun, removes the sand to disengage the young ones. The *chacon*, is a species of lizard, dwelling in the tops of houses, and frequently articulating the word *tocò*. The *calo* is a bird having a kind of hollow shell on his head, and crows at certain hours of the day, the same as a cock. The *taclobo* is an immense oyster, of which the shell holds a pitcher of water, and used as baptismal

fonts in the churches. The other curiosities are noticed in the body of the work.

The greatest part of these islands is mountainous, and the secluded portions of the uplands are inhabited by various independent tribes, seemingly the Aborigines, who have receded as the whites advanced, in the same way as in North America. Whatever may have been their origin, they are nearly all black, most of them have curly hair, and though small in stature, are strong and robust. They live in a secluded manner, as if jealous of their liberties, and never are seen without their bows and arrows. Accustomed to the silence of the forests, the smallest noise disturbs them; and the chase and bulbous and other roots growing spontaneously around them, supply them with food. It has been found impossible to civilize them, a task difficult among hordes who cannot be considered stationary, and dwelling in almost inaccessible places. The want of missionaries, and the diversity of their languages, have however been great impediments; for though resembling each other in habits and independence, they differ in other respects. At the arrival of the Spaniards, the country immediately round Manilla, was inhabited by the Tagala race, and to the north were found the Pampanga, Zumbales, Pangasinan, Ilocos, and Cagayan nations, and to the east, the Camarines and Albay, now constituting so many provincial divisions. At that time, each formed a distinct community, had a different dialect, and instead of a supreme chief, were divided into clans of 50 or 100 families, as it will afterwards be seen they still remain, a circumstance which, no doubt, facilitated their subjugation. The

plains have been successively occupied by settlers from Malacca, Siam, Macassar, Sumatra, Borneo, the Moluccas, Arabia and China, and various mixtures have again taken place, with the original natives, Mexicans, and occasionally European Spaniards, which renders the population of the Philippines, particularly that of Luzon, one of the most singular medleys that can be imagined. The religion, habits, language, as well as other peculiarities, denote the respective origins of these foreign settlers; nor have these characters been effaced by the conquest of the Spaniards. The variety of colour, features, and languages, are retained, though evidently in the course of time these distinctions must diminish.

Two distinct aboriginal races are still noticed in the Philippines, a phenomenon that equally distinguishes other islands of the Archipelago; and these are the black and brown, or the negros and Indians. The Papua, or black, is certainly the primitive race, and they retired to the mountains as the others advanced. They are smaller than the African negro, their limbs more delicate, and their complexion, instead of jet black, is of a sooty hue. The hair is also longer and more tufted, the profile of the face not so flat, and in strength and energy they are greatly inferior. Whether they originally descended from the Papuans inhabiting New Guinea, or came from Angola, which is the opinion of some Spanish writers, is still matter of conjecture. Very few of them have been domesticated, and it is observed their numbers have greatly declined, owing to the inclemencies of the weather, diseases, particularly the small-pox, and the precarious supplies of food.

The Indians, found in the islands, were of a regular stature, brown complexion, large eyes, lank hair, and their limbs rather fleshy than muscular and strong. At the period of their discovery, they were of course more advanced in civilization than the primitive race, and each tribe or nation had a distinct government and name; though several leading traits indicated that their origin was the same. The chiefs had gained their ascendancy through valour or abilities, and their rank was inherited according to the rights of primogeniture. They did not however live in a confederated manner, but independent of each other, and the extent of their dominion had chiefly depended on their success in the wars waged with their neighbours. In these wars the prisoners taken became slaves, and when enfranchised, they were called *Timauas*, signifying the children of liberty, a term, as will hereafter be seen, still used to distinguish the Indian plebeians. It will also be noticed that the original clans and chiefs are still retained; indeed the rights of the latter were guaranteed to them at the time of the conquest. They are charged to collect in the king's tribute, and are called *cabezas de barangai*, equivalent to heads of clans. As already stated, great mixtures have subsequently taken place, and it is thought the Igorrots of the province of Ilocos, and of whom frequent mention is made in the course of this work, are descended from the followers of Limahon, the Chinese pirate, who, as previously pointed out, fled to the mountains when driven from Pangasinan by Juan de Salcedo. At the present day the Tagala Indians are used by the Spaniards in Manilla as servants, and the word *tagalo* and servant are now synonymous. According to the traditions of this race,

they descend from the Malays, and in the language of the latter, *tagăla*, or rather *tageylog*, means a man living on the coast, in contradistinction to the mountaineer.

The prevailing fevers are intermittent, owing chiefly to marsh miasma. Contagious distempers are unknown among them, except the small-pox, which, most probably, with their commerce and religion, was brought among them by the Arabs, in like manner as a more loathsome disease was introduced by Europeans. Cutaneous disorders are, however, very common, and this the natives attribute to the great use of fish. Many tribes, owing to this circumstance, have their skins always covered with scurf, and Dampier, speaking of the Mindanao people, says, "they were troubled with a sort of leprosy, the same he had observed at Guam." Parturition is expeditious and safe among the Indian islanders, and seldom attended with misfortunes. The natives bathe frequently, yet this practice does not much contribute to cleanliness. They are extremely abstemious in their diet, and satisfied with a small portion of animal food. They are credulous and superstitious, cunning, yet of weak capacities, but possibly a great number of their social defects may be attributed to their ignorance, want of civilization, and the bad administration of justice. They are nevertheless hospitable to strangers, and, excepting in their robberies, piracies, and acts of private and public revenge, harmless in their manners. They are fond of external show and pomp, and certainly, on this account, they could not have been so easily captivated by any religion, possessing less ceremony and ostentation than the Catholic one. The civilized and converted Indians, of

course, follow the laws and usages of their preceptors; the independent tribes, however, greatly tinctured with paganism, revere an institution similar to marriage, and the lot of their women is more fortunate than among most of the nations of the east.

Adultery is punished by a fine, as is also the crime of disrespect to elders; but fraud and usury are totally overlooked by their laws. Their matrimonial customs are peculiar. They are only allowed to marry one woman, and although the chiefs and other persons of influence sometimes have concubines, these are generally slaves. They frequently marry relatives, though not the first of kin, and if the wedlock proves unhappy or burdensome, the husband restores his wife to her parents, without assigning any particular cause for the divorce. The dowry given on the day of marriage is merely restored, and this consists of two kinds, which the bridegroom always pays. The one is called *bigay-suso*, and is paid to the mother as a compensation for the milk with which she nourished her daughter; the other is the *bigay-caya*, or green dowry, and is generally set apart for the maintenance of the new married couple. Besides these dowries, the bridegroom is obliged for some years to serve the parents of his bride, at particular times, such as sowing the rice, and getting in the harvest. If any dispute takes place, the marriage is annulled, an arrangement usually agreeable to the parents of the woman, as a new suitor presents himself, and they reap the advantage of fresh services and dowry; but this can only be previous to the expiration of the time of service, for when this is ended, the husband becomes lord and master, and treats his wife as he pleases. The interest which the parents

thus have in the disposal of their daughter, has proved highly pernicious to morals, nor has it been possible to abolish its practice, although royal edicts, as well as regulations of the bishops, have been resorted to, the custom being general, even among the half civilized natives. The marriage ceremony is performed by sacrificing a hog, which a priestess kills with many gesticulations, and after this she bestows benedictions on the parties. An old woman then presents them with food, and the ceremony closes with dancing and refreshments.

In their religious ceremonies they use neither idols nor temples, their sacrifices being offered in arbours, raised for the purpose. The priestess works herself up to a state of apparent frenzy, and, uttering words considered prophetic by the bystanders, she pierces the hog with a lance, and then distributes the carcass among them. These sacrifices are offered to the infernal deities, as well as to the souls of their ancestors, who, they are taught to believe, inhabit large trees, rocks of uncommon appearance, or any natural object which, in point of magnitude or form, varies from the usual course. Whenever they pass an object of this description, they evince some testimony of respect, and if a person is dangerously ill, his friends offer up rice, wine, or flesh, to their deities, and then give the offerings to the sick, under an idea that a cure will be thus effected. They practise no external adoration; but, owing to their great credulity and superstition, are the dupes of numerous impostors, and believe in all kinds of charms and spells.

The general religion of the Indian islanders is, however, Mahomedan, originally introduced from Arabia,

and since kept up by their intercourse with that country, and missionaries expressly coming from it; nevertheless it is greatly blended with their ancient superstitions. Circumcision of the males takes place generally when they are about eleven years of age, and the ceremony is performed with great solemnity. Their burials are plain and decent, and great respect shewn to the memory of the deceased persons; yet, in most other respects, they are extremely lax in the observance of tenets they profess to follow. It may be said that the institution of this religion has produced no fixed principles of morality, and although intercourse is kept up with Mecca, and pilgrimages undertaken there, it is more for the sake of show, than any real motives of piety. The negative precepts of the Koran are entirely disregarded, and the use of hog's-flesh, as well as intoxicating liquors, general. The success of the Mahomedan missionaries must nevertheless be deemed surprising. This undoubtedly was owing to the manner in which they conciliated the natives, and, having once gained over the chiefs, their doctrines soon spread. These Arabs learnt the languages of the islands, followed the manners of the inhabitants, carried on trade, and also intermarried with them.

Having thus given a short sketch of the state of the Philippine natives and their religious rites, it is time to convey some idea respecting the Marianas Islands, dependent on the Philippine government, and which have been entirely overlooked by the author, with the exception of his merely stating their population to be about 4000 persons. These islands, formerly called the Ladrones, are situated in the Pacific, about 400 leagues to the east of the Philippines. They are sixteen in

number, but the principal ones are, Guam, Seypan, Tinian, and Rota, though none except the first are now inhabited. The circumference of Guam is about forty leagues, and the port is called San Luis de Apra. Three leagues distant from it is the city of Agaña, which is considered the capital, and there are besides about twenty villages. These islands were discovered by Magallanes, in 1521, although possession was not taken of them till 1565, when Legaspi was proceeding to the conquest of the Philippines. At that time it was noticed the natives had no religion, or form of worship, and like those of the Pelew Islands, they are pacific in their disposition, and simple in their manners. Their colour is a light brown, and they have long hair, which the men cut, but the women wear it in great profusion. The old are greatly infected with the leprosy, owing to their feeding on marine productions. Anson visited Tinian in 1741, and of the French ships which explored the Pacific, in 1771, under M. Marion, on their return, 200 sailors were cured of the scurvy at Guam, without losing a man. The inhabitants having been desolated by a dreadful distemper which nearly destroyed the population, the remnant was at length concentrated in one island. Plantations for vegetables, fruits, &c. have since been formed there, as well as good roads for the interior intercourse. The natives are intelligent, make good artisans, and are divided into an effective militia. They have public schools, and are passionately fond of music and dancing. They have abundance of bread fruit, as well as the *coco*, of which they make wine; indeed the family of palms, found in the Philippines, is equally extended to the Marianas Islands. They have

none of the European grains, but they grow rice and maize, and also make bread of some-of their bulbous roots. Besides the vegetable plantain, they have the dwarf, or fruit plantain, and these islands also produce a wild species, of which the fibres are twisted into ropes and cables, the only purpose for which it is used. The sea-side and damp grounds afford quantities of capers, peculiar to these islands, which have also been transplanted to the Philippines. The caper trees retain their flowers almost all the year round, and the smiling aspect of the country, added to the goodness and fragrance of the varied fruits, render the Marianas a most delightful spot.

In 1668, they were reduced to Christianity by the Jesuits, and missions established there at the expence of Queen Mary Ann of Austria, in memory of whom they bear her name. She also left an endowment of 21,000 dollars for their support and defence, and another of 3000 dollars, for a college, intended for the instruction of the Indians, and a third for the maintenance of five religious persons, formerly Jesuits, but now Augustines. The Manilla galleon regularly touches at Guam, on her way home from Acapulco, but if in great want of water, she makes the Sandwich Islands, although this is avoided if possible, owing to the dangers to be apprehended from the hostility of the chiefs. The establishment of the Marianas, is in fact kept up entirely for the convenience of refreshments, and it has been observed that, in the vast extent of the Pacific, the island of Guam is the only one that has a town built in the European style, a church, and regular fortifications. Horned cattle have greatly multiplied in these islands,

and a fine race is found there, being all white with black ears; besides goats, hogs, fowls, horses, asses, mules, &c.

Nothing can be more secluded than this position, and no intercourse is kept up with Europe, unless through Manilla or Mexico. The government is supported by a *situado*, or annual allowance of money from New Spain, and, with the exception of their seclusion, the inhabitants may be considered almost the most fortunate people on earth. They are maintained at the expence of the crown, exposed to no dangers, and pay no tributes or imposts. Their happiness and comforts must however greatly depend on the qualities of their governor, who has much in his own power. This establishment is in fact of the greatest use to all maritime states, as may easily be seen by the voyages of Anson, Wallis, Byron, Marion, &c. M. Crozet, the writer of the voyage of the latter, observes, that in the whole extent of the South Sea, there is no port in which the wearied voyager can re-establish himself sooner, and find better and more abundant refreshments, than in the island of Guam. Besides the Marianas, the Spaniards also consider the Caroline and Pelew Islands as dependencies on the Philippine government, and several attempts have been made to establish missionaries in both; but of the first little is known, and of the others information has already been conveyed to the public by English voyagers.

Before we close this sketch, intended chiefly to supply the omissions of the author, it is necessary to say something of the immediate causes which have contributed to the decline of the Philippine Islands, or rather retarded their prosperity and kept them in a backward

state. Besides distance from the mother-country and, as will be seen by their history, the dreadful misfortunes to which they have so frequently been exposed, the wavering and uncertain nature of the regulations intended for their government, the hostility of European rivals, and the litigious spirit of the inhabitants themselves, as well as the unceasing dissensions and law-suits to which this has given rise, have been of the most material injury to the colony. To comprehend the causes of these calamities, it is necessary to recur to early times and trace them to their origin.

The conquest and settlement of the Philippines, did not give rise to those torrents of blood which, unhappily, flowed at the commencement of other transatlantic establishments. Mild and persuasive measures entered into the plan of these acquisitions, and the propagation of religion was the chief motive of the original undertaking. When it was first agitated whether or not they ought to be abandoned, owing to the expences they occasioned, Philip II. observed, "that for the preservation of a single hermitage, as long as it was glorious to the true God, he would yield up the whole treasures of the Indies; and that he never could think of abandoning, and consequently, of depriving of the light of the gospel, as many provinces as might be discovered, however barren, useless and poor, they might be." The policy pursued in this respect having been so judicious, it is strange that in others it should have been so much the reverse.

As before stated, when first discovered, the natives of the Philippines were not all entirely savage. Some inhabited mountainous and inaccessible places, but those who dwelt on the plains, were divided into clans, having

their own chiefs and laws, as well as some rude notions of arts and agriculture. What they then possessed was guaranteed to them, and the surplus lands distributed among the conquerors. The districts into which the country was then divided were afterwards placed under the care of missionaries, and, it is natural to suppose, the choicest tracts fell to their lot. This distribution, which, at first, promised to be highly advantageous, in the end produced fatal consequences, and another pursuit, by no means so congenial to the capabilities of the country, as agriculture, soon drew the colonists from their estates. The too lucrative commerce derived from their communications with America, led them to consider the most honourable occupations as intolerable and even disgraceful; yet if an accident happened to the ship on board of which all their property was staked, they were plunged in the deepest distress.

This neglect of agriculture, by which the European settlers were early distinguished, was, in some measure, made up by the arrival of the Chinese, who with great industry and economy devoted themselves to tillage and manufactures, but unfortunately their allegiance never could be trusted, and prone to continual plots and conspiracies, it became necessary to recur to destructive means, by which the good effects of their useful labours were totally lost. Their repeated expulsions have consequently been detrimental to the prosperity of the islands, but it is a query whether the safety of the existing authorities could have been purchased with less sacrifices, when it is considered that the whites there only stand in the proportion of 15 to 25,000. The immense scope these islands presented to their enterprise and talents, compared to their own country, and the

great advantages they gained from the circulation of a large portion of the wealth of Mexico and Peru, gradually brought back numbers, who in the Manilla merchants and others found patrons and supporters. Nevertheless, alarmed by the experience of the past, and liable to the watchful superintendence of the officers of government, their return to agricultural pursuits was partial, and, as will be seen by the returns contained in this volume, few Chinese now have a permanent abode in the islands, notwithstanding the rigid orders issued in consequence of the part they took during the occupation of Manilla by the British, were revoked in 1778, when many returned to their wives and children, who had not been driven away.

The ravages of the piratical tribes, as well as a number of defects in the system of government, by which the industry of these islands has uniformly been paralyzed, are sufficiently explained by our author; still there is another great cause of depression to their trade, to which he merely alludes, under the head of "Royal Custom House," without entering into particulars, although he distinctly points out the work in which it can be minutely traced. As this is a subject of considerable importance, and has, at various periods, excited great interest in Spain, and occupied the attention of the Council of the Indies for years, the translator procured the *Extracto Historial del Comercio de Philipinas*, published at Madrid, in 1736, by orders of the Council, and from its contents he has been enabled to subjoin the following remarks.

The clamour, envy, and the consequent intrigues and remonstrances of the Seville merchants, first restrained that freedom which the Philippine Islands enjoyed from

the time of their conquest, and gave rise to a long series of differences, fraught with the most injurious results. Although commerce there had never been conducted on those solid principles which render it useful to a state, the merchants, nevertheless, enjoyed a certain degree of activity and wealth, and Manilla had gradually become a considerable emporium in the east. Gold and spices were brought in by the natives and bartered for those European articles which attracted the eye, rather than contributed to the convenience of social life, and these new productions, together with the merchandise brought from India, were remitted to Mexico and sold at an enormous profit. The subsequent increase of this trade, for a long time unrestricted, gave rise to all those disputes and harassing regulations which depressed the Philippines and shackled the industry of their inhabitants. So great was the ascendency of their rivals in Europe, notwithstanding they sent agents to court, in order to remonstrate and plead their cause, as was ably done in a memoir presented to the Council of the Indies, in 1637, in the name of the city and merchants of Manilla and found among the papers above alluded to, that their speculations were by law confined to one annual ship, a limited investment, and the excess declared forfeited to the crown. The Philippine merchants were, however, partly enabled to evade the effects of these restrictive regulations, by investing more capital than the royal order allowed, although they still laboured under great privations. The Seville merchants, joined also by those of Cadiz, made fresh remonstrances, pointing out the evasion practised and insisting on the injuries done to the trade and manufactures of the mother-country, by suffering the importa-

tion of silks and other China merchandise into the South American markets. These objections were again answered by the Philippine merchants, who urgently solicited an extension of their annual permit; and these painful and expensive disputes agitated the Spanish ministry for many years, absorbed the time of the Council of the Indies, and the proceedings thereby instituted filled folio volumes.

In 1604, the annual investment had been regulated at 250,000 dollars and the returns at 500,000; but on the 12th of August, 1702, these amounts were increased to 300,000 and 600,000 dollars, and fresh regulations adopted for the more correct valuation of the cargoes. The South Americans were also prohibited from having any share in this traffic, and prevented from going to China in search of their own supplies. The establishment of such erroneous principles of commerce and political economy could not fail to produce fatal consequences, although the great profits gained by the Asiatic trade, notwithstanding so small an investment, in some measure delayed the ruin of the Philippines. Nevertheless, so loud was the subsequent clamour of the Andalusian merchants, and so powerful their intrigues at court, that on the 27th October, 1720, a royal order was obtained, totally prohibiting the introduction of China goods in both parts of the monarchy, notwithstanding it was clear the European merchants could not make up the deficiency from national resources and without themselves recurring to the looms of foreigners.

So fatal and unexpected a blow filled the Philippines with consternation and despair, and the inhabitants felt keenly the injustice and cruelty with which they were treated, after the numerous sacrifices they had

made in defence of the islands, and the calamities of all kinds by which they had been incessantly assailed. Fresh agents were sent to court to appeal against these impolitic measures, and both parties were again heard before the council. It would be tedious to follow the litigants through the pleas and allegations by which their respective causes were supported; but eventually the royal order of 1720 was revoked, and this triumph on the part of the Manilla merchants was followed by another in 1734, in which the annual investment allowed was raised to 500,000 dollars, and the returns to one million. As a compensation to the European traders, they were permitted to establish a privileged company in Manilla, the object and ill-success of which are hereafter minutely explained. Such, among many other public calamities and misfortunes, which, in fact, rendered the tenure of the Philippine islands almost a miracle, have been the improvident measures tending to depress and impede the prosperity of this colony; but thanks to the new order of things, established in Spain, these restrictions are now at an end, and the inhabitants of that distant and neglected portion of the monarchy are enabled to use the resources with which they are blessed, and avail themselves of the advantageous position in which they are placed, between two continents, each wanting the productions of the other.

Notwithstanding the great freedom and liberality our author evinces throughout the whole of his work, his anxious wish that the transatlantic commerce of Spain should be established on more enlightened principles, and civilization, with all its boundless blessings, extended, some of the sentiments he expresses in the

2d chapter respecting the Indians and the best method of urging them to labour, may, nevertheless, appear novel and even revolting to an English reader, who cannot be aware of many traits peculiar to their character, or the social footing on which they stand. Although the plan he suggests with regard to the Indians, as pointed out by the translator in a note, cannot be adopted now the constitution is restored, the practical and local facts blended with his remarks are important, and may be rendered serviceable in any future arrangements, adopted with a view to turn this valuable race of people to better account, improve their moral condition, and raise them to the rank of useful members of society. As an elucidation to the subject, and in explanation of grounds on which his positions are founded, the writer of these pages has been induced to subjoin the following observations on the state of the Indian population, applicable to that of the South American continent, as well as the Asiatic islands of Spain.

It is a question that has set to work some of the most able and philanthropic pens employed on practical subjects connected with the new world, whether it was more conducive to the good of the state, for that distinction, at present subsisting between the Indians and other classes of the population, to remain; or whether it would be more useful to create one indistinct national body. The laws, as they now stand, forcibly establish this separation; yet it must be remembered that these laws were framed at the time of the conquest, or very soon after, when many abuses were introduced, and, by the absurd system of the *encomiendas*, or distributions in favour of individuals, the Indian was rather made the

tool of avarice and the victim of slavery, than the useful and deserving subject. The original motives and object of this plan were certainly good and humane; but it was soon discovered that the regulations emanating therefrom, had been founded on the very imperfect knowledge at that time obtained of the country, tainted, as it was, by interest or the opposition prevailing among the Spaniards themselves, and particularly the military commanders, in whose views civil rights were too frequently disregarded. Under such a complication of interests, and at such a distance, the sequel proved that the intended protection of the crown did not suffice to shield the Indian from oppression.

Although this important subject has not since met with the attention it deserved, and notwithstanding the defective system of government, prevailing at home, prevented the adoption of liberal and enlightened principles in this department of state policy, time has, nevertheless, produced considerable changes, and the abused authority of individuals over the aboriginal races has been taken away. Since the year 1764, at which period the packets were established, the ultramarine provinces have been more intimately connected with Spain; their concerns better understood, and the regulations of government more readily observed by the officers charged with their execution. The maritime and inland conveyance of letters to the provinces situated beyond seas, for the establishment of which so much is due to Count Florida Blanca, besides being greatly beneficial to trade, produced a great revolution in the moral state of the country, so much so that it may be said the various sections of the new world, from the above date up to that of the invasion of Spain by the

French, making a period of only 44 years, had improved more than during the lapse of the 270 preceding, from the time of the conquest. The subsequent division of such extended tracts into districts, more proportioned to the authority that was to watch over them, the abolition of *repartimientos*, and the extinction of *encomiendas*, and more particularly the grants of free trade, as they are called, were so many political improvements, which, it must be acknowledged, have not failed to produce beneficial effects.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, still the ultramarine provinces have not prospered in a manner proportioned to their capabilities, and among other causes, this may be attributed to the feelings of disunion and enmity which rankle in the breasts of the inhabitants, and debilitate their energies. The Indian, seeing that the laws have specially confided his defence and protection to the superior courts, conceives this shield is essentially necessary to his safety, and intended to act as a barrier against evils he has every reason to dread. Hence arises a division of interests, and this class is induced to believe that it is the intention of the rest to oppress them. The tribute they pay, although trifling, and which is not levied on the other classes; their exemption from the duty of *alcabala* on all they raise and manufacture; their being considered in contentious cases, in the light of minors, by which they are in fact deprived of many essential rights, added to the peculiar forms of government they are allowed to follow among themselves, give rise to many distinct lines of division, and create interests always at variance in the general formation of the state.

Similar defects are also noticed with regard to the

class of population, called casts, although arising from principles entirely opposite. Against them opinion prevails; they are less esteemed than the Indians, less protected by the law, yet the individuals constituting this class, by their cunning and address, have gained on that one possessing the greatest share of riches and wielding the power of government. The distance at which policy and prejudice had removed the casts from the other two classes, was great, yet, owing to their activity and more daring spirit, they have now taken the place of the Indians, who are thus left in the last grade of society, and hence the groundwork of their abhorrence of both classes has been laid. This proximity of the casts to the whites has, however, been considerably affected by the 22d article of the Spanish constitution, which deprives all those who in any way derive their origin from Africa of the rights of citizenship, thus opening the door to endless broils and lawsuits, injurious to the future tranquillity of the country in which such an impolitic clause is to operate. Its enactment was originally intended to prevent a greater number of transmarine deputies from sitting in the Cortes, so as to secure a majority of Europeans; but this is no other than an attempt to remove one evil by the creation of another, sanctioning, at the same time, a positive act of injustice. This privation has already given rise to considerable clamour, and before me is the remonstrance of the Spanish *pardos*, or people of colour, inhabiting the Peruvian capital, in which they bitterly complain of an humiliating exclusion, "that does not even reach to foreigners and enemies." In the most affecting language they call to mind the national services they have rendered, the number of times they

have repelled invaders from their coasts, and the various instances in which they have evinced their loyalty and devotion to their monarch. This unwise law, which besides can never answer the end for which it was framed, must be the parent of interminable feuds and broils, and involve the courts of justice in inquisitorial proceedings of a disgusting kind. Its enactment appears the more strange, as it took place at a moment when it seemed to be a primary object to unite the opinions of all the inhabitants of the monarchy, and create a moral power capable of preserving its integrity, and forming an intimate and cordial union among all the individuals of which it is composed.

Such contrarieties establish the evident principles of disunion, and it would be almost a phenomenon in the moral condition of mankind, if a country containing within itself three distinct bodies of component population, opposed to each other in views and partly in language, and besides influenced by a respective feeling of abhorrence, could ever be happy; or, at least, attain that degree of advancement which their union must inevitably promote. These, therefore, were important points of consideration to the government intended to guard the security and watch over the welfare of distant provinces, in an age like the present, in such a state as they had been left through recent events, and for these cogent reasons the subject deserved the earliest attention. Fortunately for the Philippines, they contain a very small proportion of black population, and few or no slaves, but this law materially affects Venezuela and Lower Peru; the experience of the last ten years has, however, proved the important fact, that the introduction of machinery is the best means of abolish-

ing slavery, as it greatly diminishes the want of manual labour. Several parts of the Brazils, particularly Bahia, may be mentioned in proof of this assertion; for in the latter place, more particularly, the use of machinery has already dispensed with the services of one half of the slave population, and when this system is also introduced into the mining districts of the American continent, the savings will be immense.

The contemplative mind is naturally led on to pursue inquiries regarding the welfare and improvement of so interesting a portion of the human race, as the Indians of the New World, whose history and misfortunes have always excited so deep and general an interest in Europe, although few points in civil policy are more difficult to reconcile than the one now under consideration. Notwithstanding it is a question that has not hitherto been duly considered by the new government of Spain, at former periods, it called forth the exertions of some of her best patriots, and within her own territory she has had a case in many respects similar, and more particularly as far as regards the influence of opinion, which, although partial, is nevertheless important. The Spanish government, at one time, was anxious to extinguish the race of gypsies which had greatly increased, and erroneously adopted the harsh measure of abolishing them, by seeking to prevent their procreation. Subsequent ministers, however, more enlightened, sought rather to efface the name which defamed, and, by collecting and incorporating them by every possible means with the general mass of the people, thus effected a political change, altering only opinions opposed to the welfare of the state, and that

general stream of happiness and equality which ought uniformly to flow into all its parts.

The removal of odious distinctions has also entered into the policy of the North American government, in reference to their coloured population, not that the clashing difficulty, owing to the great disproportion in numbers, can, for a long period of years, at least, be overcome with the same success in the extended dominions of Spain and Portugal, situated on the other side of the Atlantic; yet still the groundwork ought to be laid. The remarkable dissimilitude of character and difference in the energies of each party, will no doubt operate as an obstacle; but these defects will be gradually removed by mental instruction, which must be made the chief basis of all moral improvement. The Spanish legislation seems to have been aware of the comparative weakness of intellect, and want of genius and spirit in the Indian, and in order to counterbalance this defect with the preponderating character of the European, who, as the conqueror, and outstripping the Indian in talent and energy, must in the course of time gain a great ascendancy, wisely granted to him that pointed protection, and those exemptions to which allusion has already been made. Nevertheless, with this shield in his favour, and with that more immediate redress to which he can recur when injured, the Indian is not exempt from oppression; nor do the injunctions of the law, or the express orders and zeal of its ministers, at all times protect him from overreaching ambition.

The laws consequently have not answered the end in view, and the reason is, that odious distinctions still

exist, and nothing, at least efficient, has been done for the mental improvement of the aboriginal races. The peculiar character of the Indian, it must be confessed, also presents great difficulties. Nature has created him with a limited capacity, and devoid of energy, and if, during the existence of their respective sovereigns or chiefs, these various tribes had not been inspired with sufficient ambition and independence of mind to acquire individual property, but in themselves rather presented the same picture of apathy as that in which they still live, the task of bringing them to an equal standard will be rendered more difficult, now they are surrounded by the superior talents of Europeans and their descendants. In the history of the whole of the new countries it is remarkable, that where the Europeans have been attracted by locality and goodness of climate, the Indians have in time nearly disappeared. This, in some measure, is attributable to the peculiar frugality of the latter, and as the Europeans require a greater extent of land to supply their wants, the former have been imperceptibly dispossessed, and the necessaries of life raised to prices infinitely higher than those at which they have been accustomed to obtain them. The plains and valleys of the Philippines, Peru, and Mexico, present remarkable instances of this kind, so that the great mass of Indians are compelled to occupy the most elevated parts; and if it were allowed to risk a conjecture on this subject, one might venture to predict, that the Indian races will eventually become extinct, and blended with the different casts, as the country advances in trade, intercourse, and colonization, for the mestizos, as may be seen from the several scales of

population presented in the course of this volume, are already gaining fast upon them.

Instead, however, of destroying this distinction and rivalship between the various classes, it has been the peculiar policy of Spain to keep it alive, and even to extend it. This opposition of the casts to the Indians has been used as a powerful check on the most numerous and dreaded class, and served to secure the supremacy of a weak government, possessing little moral aid. Notwithstanding the great practical distance at which the great body of the Indians are kept, the legislature of Spain made many distinctions founded on policy, and some of the measures adopted seem to have had for object to render the higher ranks of Indians uniform with the rest of the subjects. The noble Indians and those descended from the ancient chiefs, are exempt from tribute, and rendered equal with the Spaniards in civil, ecclesiastical, and military employments. The plebeian Indians, however, have remained in the same low sphere, and still apparently have obtained a multitude of privileges, yet notwithstanding the efforts of policy and legislation in their favour, the beneficial effects have never extended beyond individuals, without affecting the general body.

It must not however be thought that it is intended to argue that the condition of the Indians, on a general scale, has not been bettered by the conquest. Their marked protection and mild treatment, in the eye of the law at least, exhibit a perfect contrast with the tyrannic government of their ancient sovereigns, by whom they were held in the most perfect servitude, subjected to a cruel and forced homage, and loaded with the weight of

personal labour and tributes. Besides the exemptions above noticed, the existing laws give the Indian a preference in the irrigation of his lands, and it is ordained that these shall not be in any way mixed with the estates of Europeans, in order to avoid disputes. It has been expressly recommended to teach him the Spanish language, in order to induce him to forget his own; he has been induced to give up his national dress, taught a profession, &c.; still the effects have been temporary or partial. The fact is, the Indian, as a conquered and dejected being, hates the Spaniard, mistrusts him in every act, even when this appears the most advantageous. He assists and obeys him merely in the character of a superior; an expression of regard or attachment never escapes his lips; dread and rigour alone induce him to work; he is fond of solitude and retirement, in order to escape the sight of the other classes, whom he considers his rivals or enemies; he is sparing and abstemious, besides being distinguished by many other peculiar qualities, which hold him at variance with the remaining classes. To these characteristics may be added, the superstition of his exterior worship, a reserve and caution in his conduct, a sadness in his voice and song, a proneness to refuse any thing asked of him, even the provisions he has brought to market for sale, as well as a remarkable obliqueness of answer. He is fond of his children, cruel to his wife, disrespectful to his aged parents, capable of remaining for hours in the same posture, without moving or speaking, sullen, gloomy, besides a variety of other traits which might yield to education, but at present render any political alliance extremely difficult.

Many of the misfortunes of the Indians, however,

may rather be attributed to the executive, than the legislative, power, for, in all ages and countries, the views of the best establishments have been counteracted by human malice. By the removal of those regulations enacted for them soon after the conquest, politically speaking, they have been rendered more free, yet from this change the state has received no advantage, nor has it tended to improve their own relative condition, as might have been expected. Whether this arises out of any fault in the system observed towards them, or whether it has been the result of the overthrow of their empire, and the privation of their customs, manners, and mode of government, which circumstances have preyed on their spirits, and made them despondent, appears to be an investigation, deserving the attention of their present rulers. Their physical state is, no doubt, bettered, but their moral and intellectual faculties are not improved in the smallest degree.

The Indian tribes of the South American continent differ from each other, in appearance, according to their various nations, soil, and climate. In some parts, they are above the common size, in others, of a good stature, and in many again, small. Though, at the time of their discovery, nearly all had the same habits and pursuits of life, a great difference was observable in their manners, and the degree of civilization they had attained. In Tlascala, a well regulated commonwealth was found, whose transactions with Cortes would not have disgraced any European nation.. It is true that several inferior governments were discovered, scattered on each side of the two great monarchies of Peru and Mexico, as well as in the islands, where the people were less civilized, living in clans, or wandering in the wilds,

almost in a state of nature, and scarcely subject to any control among themselves.

Still the generality of these Indians were not atheists; they had partial, though just, ideas of a Deity, notwithstanding these were weakened by the worship of idols. They acknowledged a Supreme Being, whose existence was coeval with time, and who possessed every powerful attribute, although idolatry superadded many extravagancies. They affirmed that the number and variety of gods they worshipped, were subjected to a sovereign being, who was lord over gods and man, and the Peruvians, particularly, thought his semblance was in the sun. These intermediate beings were considered as steps between them and the Divinity; and they believed that through them their wishes and wants were transmitted to the great presiding Power, and each had his peculiar department.

Their ideas of omnipotent power in some measure resembled those of the natives of Asia, and they explained the semblance of man to God, nearly in the same way. "Imagine to yourself," said they, "a million of dew-drops, hanging in pearls from the thorn, on which the star of day beams his resplendent rays and is reflected. The figure of the Divinity is at the same time multiplied and represented in each globule, and in each is seen the exact resemblance of the creative sun. Our bodies are these drops, the sun is the supreme Being, and this image represents that figurative alliance which exists between him and the whole human race."

That men, once capable of such a train of reasoning as this, and who had besides advanced to such a state of civilization as that in which they were found under the Incas in Peru, the monarchs in Mexico, and even

their respective chiefs in the Philippines, and who then appeared to possess native talent, reflection, and combination, should, in the course of time, without any exception of places, have fallen back to a state of mental gloom and apathy, courting the seclusion of woods, or living dispersed in the mountains, appears strange and unaccountable; and, equally so, that after so long a lapse of time, and the predilections shewn by the court at home, they have not been raised from the dejected state in which they have been plunged, and converted into useful members of the community. This seems to indicate a defect in some quarter or another, and that either secret policy has kept them back, or that the failing has been on the part of the executive.

The art of governing a country, is, as much as possible, to ameliorate the situation of each individual, and public felicity is no more than the assemblage and general result of this improvement. Hence the perfection of laws and government seems to consist in no individual furthering his own interest by the misfortunes of another, and rendering all capable of that happiness proportioned to the station of each. The primitive ages of all nations have, however, rather been distinguished by warlike acts than the pursuits of industry, or the sober calls of civilization, and such also were the symptoms, added to a destructive and cruel tyranny, which stamped the first European establishments in the New World; whence it is to be feared, that on this account the Indians there have not hitherto met with that consideration they deserve, and that the enjoyment of those social and civil rights which constitute the inheritance of every free man, have not been extended to them.

Nevertheless, that a system partly coercive, is necessary for the government and subjection of the Indians of the Philippines, is proved by the history of the country, and this fact is rendered more evident by the annals of Peru. There, though few general, yet upwards of 200 partial, revolts have taken place. The greatest number were occasioned by weak and discontented leaders, often through views of personal aggrandizement, and, ended in their execution and the chastisement of their immediate supporters. The revolt of Tupac-Amaru was however more serious. This youth was a direct descendant from the Inca of that name, executed by viceroy Toledo, for an alleged conspiracy to reinstate the ancient dynasties. Tupac-Amaru was a mestizo, had studied for the profession of the law, and was not devoid of talent and address. In 1780, the flame of rebellion broke out, and it appeared directed against new imposts levied. The Indians of the district of Tinta rose, killed their curate and civil magistrate, and made war on the whites. The neighbouring provinces followed their example, and the Indians of the Intendancies of Cusco, Huamanga, Oruro, La Paz, and some districts of Tarma, rose in a mass. The ostensible object of this revolt was to destroy the *viracochas*, a term given to the whites, in the Peruvian language, and to restore the legitimate Inca, Tupac-Amaru, to the throne. He besieged and took Cusco, where he received the honours of emperor; but the city of La Paz withstood the combined efforts of the Indians, during four months. The latter constructed immense works, in order to turn the course of the river and inundate the town; but, eventually, the garrison was relieved, after being reduced to the great-

est privations. The natives even cast cannon to supply their wants, the country was ravaged, and a destructive war carried on for upwards of four years. The chief was at length delivered up by one of his own party and executed, when the Indians laid down their arms, and fled to their homes, or hid themselves in the mountains. Peace was restored, yet the traces of this revolt still remain on the minds of the Indians, and prove how dreaded all civil contests must be in a country where such a clashing of views, disposition, and character, prevails. This was the most regular and best combined revolt Peru has witnessed; but the rest have resembled those of the Philippine Islands, and generally been attended with exactly the same consequences.

From what has been just stated, it is evident that the Indians constitute a population very difficult to manage, and it is equally so to train them to regular habits of industry. Humboldt observes of them that they are extremely improvident, and though at intervals they may be induced to work hard, they spend in one week what it has taken them months to earn. This is the difficulty to which our author alludes in those remarks which the present details were intended to explain; yet the plan he suggests, even if it was divested of the unjust principle with which it is tainted, could never become any thing more than a temporary expedient, without improving the moral condition of this class at large, or teaching them fixed habits of industry. This can only be the result of a judicious and well combined plan on a large scale, in which both the legislature and executive must zealously cooperate, with constancy and good faith.

It now merely remains for the writer of these pages to subjoin a few general remarks on Spain, in reference to her ultramarine provinces, intended chiefly to point out the political footing on which they stand, through the new system adopted in the Peninsula. By the first article of the constitution, the Spanish nation is declared to be "the assemblage of all Spaniards belonging to both hemispheres," and the ultramarine provinces were decreed to be equal and integral parts of the monarchy. In consequence of this, such parts of the American continent as were not in a state of insurrection, sent deputies to the Cortes assembled in 1812, and as Count Toreno remarks, in his late pamphlet on Spanish affairs, "the deputies from Peru were seen seated by the side of those from Estremadura, and near those from Catalonia were seen the representatives of the Philippine Islands. Magnificent spectacle," adds he, "on the part of a nation which, embracing both hemispheres, beholds within the bosom of its Cortes, deputies born in the two extremities of the earth! In their faces were distinguished the European, American and Asiatic; and perhaps, this is the first congress ever known, in which were assembled persons who, speaking the same language, having the same customs, and belonging to the same nation, were born in climes so distant, and whose ancestors were men of such varied origin."

Such was the state of things up to the year 1814, when the constitution was unhappily overturned, and those principles of civil freedom and reform which had been established, entirely thrown down. This event produced a complete chaos in the nation, and strength-

ened the revolt in the ultramarine provinces, where hitherto the operation of the new code had only been partial. The constitution was however restored in 1820, through the memorable events which distinguished the La Isla revolution, at a moment when the nation was wearied out and disgusted with the acts of injustice they had witnessed in the interval, and ashamed of the degraded state into which the monarchy was sunk. It was most enthusiastically received, and hailed as the harbinger of future peace and prosperity. For some months, the new government has continued its labours, though not without experiencing difficulties and some contrarieties, internal as well as external. The constitution, reduced to practice, has not been found so perfect as it was at first thought, and its defects, as well as a variety of other motives, have put in motion discordant elements the nation contains within itself. With these difficulties a weak administration has had to contend, whilst, in the mean time, the necessary modifications have been overlooked.

The spirit, however, by which the mass of the nation is actuated, is good, and the situation of Spain is full of hope, not only for herself, but for the rest of the world. Nevertheless, she has much to do—much to conciliate and arrange. The general plan of the constitution is admirable, and when compared with the old despotism it was intended to dislodge, as a whole, almost amounts to perfection; yet to be lasting, some of the practical details must be reformed. It must be better adapted to the situation and circumstances of the ultramarine provinces, if it is intended to realize the hopes entertained of it. Spain has however avoided

the horrors of the French revolution, and the spirit of freedom breaking out with a resistless force in a country where civil and religious oppression had long prevailed, cannot fail in the end to secure social happiness, and strengthen that bond of union by which the various parts of the monarchy are held together.

London,
20th March, 1821.

STATE

OF THE

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,

&c.

CHAP. I.

Population—Agriculture—viz. Cotton, Indigo, Sugar, Silk, Wax, Black Pepper, Coffee, Cocoa, Cinnamon, Nutmeg, Rice, Dye Woods and Timber.

POPULATION.—THE enumeration of the natives for the assessment of tributes, in the manner ordained by the standing regulations of the Intendants of New Spain, is not observed in the Philippine Islands; nor indeed would this be an easy task. The wide extent of the twenty-seven provinces of which they are composed, scattered, as they are, through the great space comprehended between the southern part of Mindanao, and the almost desert islands known by the name of Batanes and Baguyanes, to the

north of that of Luzon, presents almost insurmountable obstacles, and in some measure affords an excuse for the omission. Among these obstacles may be mentioned, the necessity of waiting for the favourable monsoon to set in, in order to perform the several voyages from one island to the other; the encumbered state of the grounds in many parts, the irregular and scattered situations of the settlements and dwellings, the variety among the natives and their dialects, the imperfect knowledge hitherto obtained of the respective limits and extent of many districts, the general want of guides and auxiliaries, on whom reliance can be placed, and, above all, the extreme repugnance the natives evince to the payment of tributes, a circumstance which induces them to resort to all kinds of stratagems, in order to elude the vigilance of the collectors, and conceal their real numbers.

The quinquennial census, as regularly enjoined, being thus found impracticable, no other means are left than to deduce from the annual lists, transmitted by the district magistrates to the superintendant's office, and those formed by the parish curates, a prudent estimate of the total number of inhabitants subject to our laws and religion; yet these data, although the only ones, and also the most accurate it is possible to obtain, for this very reason, inspire so

little confidence, that it is necessary to use them with great caution. It is evident that all the district magistrates and curates do not possess the same degree of care and minuteness in a research so important, and the omission or connivance of their respective delegates, more or less general, renders it probable that the number of tributes, not included in the annual returns, is very considerable. If to this we add the legal exemptions from tribute, justly granted to various individuals for a certain number of years, or during the performance of special services, we shall easily be convinced of the imperfection of results, derived from such insecure principles. Reduced, however, to the necessity of availing myself of them, in consequence of the want of better materials, I have formed the prudent calculation, contained in Table, No. I. founded on the returns I have been able to obtain from the public offices, and supported by such other information as it was in my power to collect in the several departments of the local government, as well as from various other sources. On such grounds I have carefully formed my estimates corresponding to the year 1810, and by confronting them with such data as I possess relating to the population in 1791, I have deduced the consoling assurance that, under a parity of circumstances, the population of these islands, far

from having diminished, has, in the interval, greatly increased.

From the collective returns recently made out by the district magistrates, it would appear that the total number of tributes amounts to 386,654, which multiplied by 6½, produce the sum of 2,515,406, at which I estimate the total population, including old men, women and children. I ought here to observe, that I have chosen this medium of 6½, between the five persons estimated in Spain and eight in the Indies, as constituting each family, or entire tribute; for although the prodigious fecundity of the women in the latter hemisphere, and the facility of maintaining their numerous offspring, both the effects of the benignity of the climate and their sober way of living, sufficiently warrant the conclusion, that a greater number of persons enter into the composition of each family, I have, in this case, been induced to pay deference to the observations of religious persons, intrusted with the care of souls, who have assured me that, whether it be owing to the great mortality prevailing among children, or the influence of other local causes, in many districts each family, or entire tribute, does not exceed 4½ persons*.

* As a further illustration of the increase of population and advance of civilization in the Philippines, it may be observed,

To the above amount it is necessary to add 7000 Sangleyes*, who have been enumerated and subjected to tribute, for although in the returns preserved in the public offices, they are not rated at more than 4700, there are ample reasons for concluding, that many who are wan-

---

that in a Memoir presented to the King and his Council of the Indies, in 1637, by the city of Manilla, the Indian population is only rated at 44,763 tributes, according to official returns corresponding to the year 1630; as follows: provinces of Oton and Panay, 12 towns, and 6035 tributes: Island of Zebu, 3 towns, and 2529 tributes: Camarines, 87 Chinese tributes: Mindoro and Luban, 1612 tributes: province of Tayabas, 5 towns, and 1343 tributes: province of Bay, 9 towns, and 2232 tributes: coast of Manilla, 28 towns, and 4250 tributes: Japanese, 218 tributes: Sangleyes, or Chinese Christians in the suburbs of Manilla, 580 tributes: province of la Pampanga, 6 towns, and 3650 tributes: province of Pangasinan, 4 towns, and 899 tributes: province of Ilocos, 5 towns, and 2988 tributes: province of Cagayan, 8 towns, and 2192 tributes. Total, 44,763 tributes.—Tr.

* This term, in the Philippine Islands, is applied to the Chinese, and has the same meaning as trader or pedlar, being derived from the Chinese words *Xiang-Ley*. These people visit and wander about all the islands, selling their goods and wares, and hence their occupation has been turned into a distinctive or national appellation. Numbers are settled and carry on trade in the islands, follow the Catholic religion, and pay tribute to the king. The offspring of those who have intermarried with the natives, are called Sangley Mestizos.—Tr.

dering about, or hidden in the provinces, have eluded the general census.* The European Spaniards, and Spanish Creoles and Mestizos, do not exceed 4000 persons, of both sexes and all ages, and the distinct casts or modifications known in America under the name of Mulattos, Quarteroons, &c.* although found in the Philippine Islands, are generally confounded in the three classes of pure Indians, Chinese Mestizos, and Chinese. Besides the above distinctions, various infidel and independent nations or tribes exist,

---

* The *Creole*, properly speaking, is the descendant of two Europeans, but born in the country, and the term applies to the successive generations, as long as they remain unmixed with coloured races. He generally loses the bright colour and bodily strength of his progenitors, but acquires a more delicate form, vivacity, and greater tenderness of heart. The *Mestizo* is the mixture of white and Indian, in which the former predominates. He is hardy and robust; the copper tinge is lost, and he is often found perfectly white, and with blue eyes. The women of this class are beautiful and engaging. The second mixture of Mestizo and white restores the primitive colour of white. The *Mulatto* is the offspring of white and negro, and it is remarked, that although he loses the bodily strength of his parents, his mental faculties are improved. He is quick and lively, voluble in his speech, and easily learns the less abstruse sciences. The *Quarteroon* descends from the white and mulatto, and although he improves in colour, he loses in mental qualities. These are general distinctions, founded on accurate observations; but of course liable to exceptions.—Tr.

more or less savage and ferocious, who have their dwellings in the woods and glens, and are distinguished by the respective names of Aetas, Ingolots, Negrillos, Igorrots, Tinjanes, &c.; nor is there scarcely a province in Luzon, that does not give shelter to some of these isolated tribes, who inhabit and possess many of the mountainous ranges, which ramificate and divide the wide and extended plains of that beautiful island.

The original race by which the Philippines are peopled, is beyond doubt Malayan, and the same that is observed in Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the other islands of this immense archipelago. The Philippine Indians, very different from the Malabars, whose features possess great regularity, sweetness, and even beauty, only resemble the latter in colour, although they excel them in stature, and the good proportion of their limbs. The local population of the capital, in consequence of its continual communication with the Chinese and other Asiatics, with the mariners of various nations, with the soldiery and Mexican convicts, who are generally mulattos, and in considerable numbers sent to the islands yearly in the way of transportation, has become a mixture of all kinds of nations and features, or rather a degeneration from the primitive races.

Manilla, the capital of the Philippine Islands,

at present contains a population of from 140 to 150,000 inhabitants, of all classes; but it ought, however, to be understood, that in this computation are included the populous suburbs of Santa Cruz, San Fernando, Binondoc, Tondo, Quiapo, St. Sebastian's, San Anton, and Sampaloc; for although each is considered as a distinct town, having a separate curate and civil magistrate of its own, the subsequent union that has taken place, rather makes them appear as a prolongation of the city, divided into so many wards and parishes, with no other intervals than small squares, in the centre of which their respective churches are built. Among the chief provincial towns, several are found to contain a population of from 20 to 30,000 souls, and many not less than from 10 to 12,000. Finally, it is a generally received opinion that, besides the Moroon Indians and independent tribes, the total population of the Philippine Islands, subject to the authority of the king, is equal to three millions.

AGRICULTURE.—It is not my intention at present to enter on the wide and diversified field this branch of industry presents, on a general scale, nor to attempt minutely to describe the various kinds of culture and planting practised in these islands, with a view to point out the defects and backward state of so important a source of national wealth. Besides the theme

being unbounded, I am induced to decline this task, in the first place, because it is one in no way congenial to my former habits and pursuits; and, in the second, because I conceive it most advisable to confine my observations on this subject to such parts only as are connected with export trade, which in general decides the value and importance of all agricultural colonies. Under this impression, I at once proceed to treat of the productions which constitute the trade of the country, in its present state, adding thereto such general and particular remarks as may occur, or in any way tend to illustrate the subject.

COTTON.—Among the varied productions of the Philippines, for many reasons, none is so deserving of attention as cotton. Its whiteness and fine staple give to it such a superiority over that of the rest of Asia, and possibly of the world, that the Chinese anxiously seek it, in order preferably to employ it in their most perfect textures, and purchase it 30 per cent. dearer than the best from Hindostan. Notwithstanding this extraordinary allurement, the vicinity of a good market, and the positive certainty that however great the exportation, the growth can never equal the consumption and immense demand for this article, it has nevertheless hitherto been found impossible to extend and improve its cul-

tivation, in such a way as to render it a staple commodity of the country. Owing to this lamentable neglect, it is, that the annual exportation does not exceed 5000 *arrobas* (125,000 lbs.), whereas the British import into China at the annual rate of 100,000 bales, or 1,200,000 *arrobas*, produced in their establishments at Bombay and Calcutta, and which, sold at the medium price of 15 *tales*, for 130 lbs., yield the net amount of 4,800,000 dollars*.

This want of attention in so important a branch of agriculture is the more to be regretted, as the islands abound in situations peculiarly adapted for the cultivation of cotton, and the accidental failure of the crops in some provinces, might easily be made up by their success in

* In the sitting of 8th of Nov. 1820, among other commercial regulations enacted, the Cortes gave their sanction to the following, regarding the Philippine Islands.—Tr.

" In the Philippine Islands the importation of raw cottons from foreign countries shall be prohibited, or allowed to the amount and in the manner that may be deemed advisable by the local authorities, in order to reconcile the encouragement of the cultivation with the manufactures from cotton in those Spanish islands.

" That in the ultra-marine provinces, the local authorities shall permit the importation, under the corresponding duties, of common iron and the necessary implements for agriculture, as long as they cannot be provided from national manufactures."

others. The culture of this plant is besides extremely easy, as it requires no other labour than clearing the grounds from brush-wood, and lightly turning up the earth with a plough, before the seeds are scattered, which being done, the planter leaves the crop to its own chance, and in five months gathers abundant fruit, if, at the time the bud opens, it is not burnt by the north winds, or rotted with unseasonable showers.

The provinces of Ilocos and Batangas are the only ones in which the cultivation of cotton is pursued with any degree of zeal and care, and it greatly tends to enrich the inhabitants. This successful example has not, however, hitherto excited emulation in those of the other provinces; and thus the only production of the Philippine Islands, of which the excellence and superior demand in trade are as well known as its culture is easy, owing to a strange fatality and causes which will be hereafter noticed, is left almost in a neglected state, or, at most, confined to the narrow limits of local consumption*.

* Cotton may be also considered as one of the most valuable productions of South America, which country possesses advantages in the growth of this article over the East Indies. Immense ranges are there found, with sufficient moisture to give luxuriance to the plant, without rain ever falling; for unseasonable showers not only rot and destroy the buds, but,

INDIGO.—Pangasinan, La Pampanga, Bataan, La Laguna, Tayabas, and Camarines, produce indigo of various classes, and although its preparation, or the extraction of the dye, is in most of the above provinces still performed in an equally imperfect manner, several small improvements have recently been made, which have bettered the quality, more particularly in La Laguna, the only district in which attempts have been made to imitate the process used in Guatimala, as well with regard to the construction and number of vats necessary, as the precipitation of the colouring particles, detached from the plant by the agitation of the water. In the other places, the whole of the operations are performed in a single vat, and the indigo obtained is not unfrequently impregnated with lime and other extraneous substances*.

---

by lodging in them, give the cotton a black colour. These countries also are divested of sweeping tempests, and, moistened by the interior and exterior waters which descend from the Cordilleras, as well as ample dews, they are marked with great fertility. Such are many of the low lands of Peru, where double crops are obtained. The manufactures there chiefly clothe the inhabitants. The city of Cochabamba alone consumes upwards of a million pounds annually.—TR.

* The first indigo sent from the Philippines to Spain, as cargo, arrived at Cadiz, in the Asumpcion frigate, in the year 1784.—TR.

Whatever may have been the causes of this evident backwardness, from the period of the establishment of the Philippine Company in these islands, and in consequence of the exertions of some of the Directors to promote the cultivation of indigo, at that time very little known, the natives have slowly, though gradually, been reconciled to it; and discovering it to be one of the most advantageous branches of industry, although accompanied with some labour and exposed to the influence of droughts and excessive heats, as well as to the risks attendant on the extraordinary anticipation of the rainy seasons, have of late years paid more attention to it. The quintal of indigo of the first class, costs the planter from 35 to 40 dollars, at most; and in the market of Manilla it has been sold from 60 to 130, according to the quality and the greater or lesser demand of the article at the season. As, however, every thing in this colony moves within a small circle, it is not possible to obtain large quantities for exportation; not only because of the risk in advancing the Indian sums of money on account of his crop, but also owing to the annual surplus seldom exceeding from 2 to 2500 quintals, distributed in many hands, and collected by numerous agents, equally interested in making up their return-cargoes.

SUGAR.—The cultivation of the sugar-cane is more or less extended to all the provinces of these islands, owing to its consumption among the natives being both great and general; but those of La Pampanga and Pangasinan are more particularly devoted to it. These two provinces alone annually produce about 550,000 arrobas (13,750,000 lbs.), of which one-third is usually exported in Chinese and other foreign vessels. In extraordinary seasons, the amount exported greatly exceeds the quantity above stated, as, for example, happened in the monsoon of 1796, when the planters came down to the port of Manilla, and by contract exported upwards of nine millions weight, of the first and second qualities. The price of this article has experienced many variations of late years; but the medium may be estimated at six dollars for 125 lbs. of the first quality, and five for the second.

The superior quality of the sugar of the Philippines is acknowledged, when compared to that produced in the island of Java, China, or Bengal; notwithstanding in the latter countries it may naturally be concluded that greater pains and care are bestowed on its manufacture. The pressure of the cane in the Philippine Islands is performed by means of two coarse

stone cylinders, placed on the ground, and moved in opposite directions by the slow and unequal pace of a *Carabao*, a species of oxen or buffalo, peculiar to this and other Asiatic countries. The juice is conveyed to an iron caldron, and in this the other operations of boiling, skimming and cleansing, take place, till the crystallization or adhering of the sugar is completed. All these distinct parts of the process, in other colonies, are performed in four separate vessels, confided to different hands, and consequently experience a much greater degree of care and dexterity. After being properly clayed, the sugars acquire such a state of consistency that, when shipped in canvas bags, they become almost petrified in the course of the voyage, without moistening or purging, as I understand is the case with those of Bengal.

SILK.—Among the useful objects to which the Patriotic Society* of Manilla directed their attention, from the very moment of their for-

* On 6th May, 1781, a patriotic society was opened in Manilla, for the purpose of encouraging agriculture, useful arts, &c. Before me is the speech of the Governor and Capt.-Gen. Don Jose Basco, pronounced on that occasion; in which he explains to the members the object of their formation into a society, encourages them to pursue it, and glowingly describes to them the immense scope for their zeal and enterprise they have in the Philippine Islands.—TR.

mation, the planting of mulberry trees seems to have met with peculiar encouragement. The society rightly judged that the naturalization of so valuable a commodity as silk in these islands, would materially increase the resources of the colony, and there was reason to hope that, besides local consumption, the growth might in time be so much extended as to supply the wants of New Spain, which are not less than 80,000 lbs., amounting to from 350 to 400,000 dollars, conveyed there in the galleon annually sent to the port of Acapulco, by the Manilla merchants, which article they are now compelled to contract for in China *.

The Society gave the first impulse to this laudable project, and the then governor of the islands, Don Jose Basco, anxious to realize it, with this view sent Colonel Charles Conely on a special commission to the province of Camarines. This zealous officer and district magistrate, in the years 1786-7 and 8, caused 4,485,782 mulberry trees to be planted in the thirty districts under his jurisdiction; and incalculable are the

* The silk worms were first sent to Manilla in 1780 from China, at the request of the Society, by Father Galiano, of the order of St. Augustin. In a memoir on this subject, addressed to the Council of the Indies, I find it stated that nine crops are obtained every year.—Tr.

happy results which would have attended a plan so extensive, and commenced with so much vigour, if it could have been continued with the same zeal by his successor, and not at once destroyed, through a mistaken notion of humanity, with which, soon after the departure of Governor Basco, they proceeded to exonerate the Indians from all agricultural labour that was not free and spontaneous, in conformity, as was then alleged, to the general spirit of our Indian legislation. As it was natural to expect, the total abandonment of this valuable branch followed a measure so fatal, and notwithstanding the efforts subsequently made by the Royal Company, in order to obtain its restoration, as well in Camarines as the province of Tondo, all their exertions were in vain, though it must be allowed that at the time several untoward circumstances contributed to thwart their anxious wishes. Notwithstanding this failure, the project, far from being deemed impracticable, would beyond all doubt succeed, and, under powerful patronage, completely answer the well-founded hopes of its original conceivers and promoters. The natives themselves would soon be convinced of the advantages to be derived from the possession of an article, in so many ways applicable to their own fine textures, and besides the variety of districts in the islands, proved to be suitable to the culti-

vation of this interesting tree, it is a known fact that many of the old mulberry groves are still in existence*.

---

* On the *pecae* or *mimosa inga* of the *Flora Peruana*, a caterpillar has been found, called by the Indians of Peru, *sustillo*, resembling the bombyx, or silk-worm. A paper, similar to that made by the Chinese, is manufactured by this insect. Father Calancha mentions a letter in his possession, written on this kind of paper, cut from a piece of more than a yard in length. The manner in which it is made is as follows: the number of the insects is in proportion to the size and growth of the tree which nourishes them, and when completely satiated with food, they assemble on that part of the body of the tree, best adapted for the expansion they have to take, and generally on the widest and most level surface. With the greatest symmetry and regularity, they there form a web, larger or smaller, according to the number of operators; and more or less pliant, according to the quality of the leaf on which they have fed. This covering, or envelope, extends over the whole collection of insects, and when completed, has received from them such an equal surface, consistency, and lustre, that it bears the pressure of the pen, and appears as if passed through a roller. It acts as a preservative against the weather, and when finished to the size required by the little army, they range themselves under it, in vertical and close files, forming in the centre a perfect square. Each insect then makes its respective nest, of a coarse short silk, in the enclosure of which it is formed into the chrysalis, and from that state into the butterfly. As they afterwards escape from under the web, the edges are detached from the tree, and left floating in the air, by which it is bleached in proportion to its exposure to the damp. The Spanish naturalist, Pineda, sent several spe-

BEES-WAX.—The Bisayas, Cagayan, and many other provinces, produce wax in considerable abundance, which the Indians collect from the natural hives formed in the cavities of the trees, and it is also brought down by the infidel natives from the mountains to the neighbouring towns. The quality certainly is not the best, and notwithstanding attempts have been made to cleanse it from the extraneous particles with which it is mixed, it always leaves a considerable sediment on the lower part of the cakes, and never acquires an entire whiteness. Its consumption is great, especially in the capital, and after supplying the wants of the country, an annual surplus of from 600 to 800 quintals is appropriated for exportation.

This certainly might be converted into an article of extreme importance, especially for the kingdom of Peru, which in peaceable times receives its supplies from Spain, and even from the island of Cuba; but for this purpose it would be necessary to adopt the plan recommended by the enlightened zeal of the Patriotic Society, and previously encourage the establishment of arti-

---

cimens and entire nests, to the Museum in Madrid, and in Lima they are frequently met with. The *seda silvestre*, as it is called, is found in quantities on the banks of the river Parana.—TR.

ficial hives, and the plantation of aromatic and flowering shrubs, which so easily attract and secure the permanency of the roving swarms, always ready to undertake fresh labours. This, as well as many other points, has hitherto been entirely overlooked.

BLACK PEPPER.—This production is cultivated in the provinces of Tayabas, Batangas, and La Laguna, but in such small quantities, that notwithstanding the powerful allurements of all kinds constantly held out by the Royal Company, during the long period of twenty years, their agents have never been able to collect in more than about 64,000 lbs. annually. After every encouragement, the most that has been attained with the natives, is confined to their planting in some districts 50 or 100 pepper-vines round their huts, which they cultivate in the same way as they would plots of flowers, but without any other labour than supporting the plant with a proportioned stake, clearing the ground from weeds, and attending to daily irrigation.

This article therefore scarcely deserves a place amongst the flourishing branches of agriculture, at least till it has been raised from its present depressed state, and the grounds laid out in regular and productive pepper-groves. Till this is done, to a corresponding extent, it must also be excluded from the number of productions

furnished by these islands to commerce and exportation; more particularly if we consider that, notwithstanding the great fragrance and pungency of the grain, as well as its general superiority over the rest of Asia, so great a difference exists in the actual price, that this can never be compensated by its greater request in the markets of Europe, and much less enable it to compete with that of the British and Dutch, till its abundance has considerably lowered its primitive value.

Finally, although an infinity of grounds are to be found adapted to the rapid propagation of pepper-vines, as may easily be inferred from the analogy and proximity of the Philippine Islands to the others of this same archipelago, so well known for their growth of spices, it must be confessed that it is a species of culture by no means popular among the Philippine natives, and it would be almost requiring too much from their inconstancy of character, to wish them to dedicate their lands and time to the raising of a production which, besides demanding considerable care, is greatly exposed to injury, and even liable to be destroyed by the severity of the storms, which frequently mark the seasons. With difficulty would they be induced to wait five years before they were able to gather the uncertain fruits of their labour and patience. If

therefore it should ever be deemed a measure of policy to encourage the growth of black pepper, it will be necessary for the government to order the commons belonging to each town, and adapted to this species of plantation, to be appropriated to this use, by imposing on the inhabitants the obligation of taking care of them, and drawing from the respective coffers of each community the necessary funds for the payment of the labourers, and the other expences of cultivation. If this cannot be done, it will be necessary to wait till the general condition of the country is improved, when through the spirit of emulation, and the enterprises of the planters being duly patronised and supported, present difficulties may be overcome, and the progressive results of future attempts will be then found to combine the interests of individuals, with the general welfare of the colony.

COFFEE, COCO, CINNAMON, AND NUTMEG. —So choice is the quality of the coffee produced in the island of Luzon, especially in the districts of Indan and Silan, in the province of Cavite, that if it is not equal to that of Mocha, I at least consider it on a parallel with the coffee of Bourbon; but, as the consumption and cultivation are extremely limited, it cannot with any propriety be yet numbered among the articles contributing to the export-trade.

Coco is something more attended to, in consequence of the use of chocolate being greatly extended among the natives of easy circumstances. That of the island of Zebu, is esteemed superior to the coco of Guayaquil, and possibly it is only excelled by that of Soconusco. As, however, the quantity raised does not suffice for the local consumption, Guayaquil cocoa meets a ready sale, and is generally brought in return-cargo by the ships coming from Acapulco, and those belonging to the Philippine company dispatched from Callao, the shipping-port of Lima*.

---

* The use of chocolate was known to the Mexicans previous to the conquest, and indeed, the term is derived from their language. From New Spain this plant was introduced in the Philippines, and also the Canaries; it is, however, found in its wild state in Guayaquil, as well as on the banks of the Orinoco. Its principal consumption is in Spain, where, it is calculated, upwards of ten millions weight are annually required. In Mexico, the plantation of coco has been much neglected, and the supplies for that kingdom, equal to about one third of what is consumed in Spain, are now mostly derived from Guatimala and Guayaquil. Caracas and Maracaibo chiefly supply Spain, and since the island of Trinidad has belonged to the British, the growth of this article has been greatly encouraged there. That of the provinces of Venezuela is the best, and before the revolution, they were estimated to export, annually, upwards of 150,000 *fanegas*, valued at forty dollars each in Europe. Chocolate is deemed an ex-

The cultivation of these two articles in the Philippines is on the same footing as that of pepper, which, as above stated, is rather an object of luxury and recreation than one of speculation among the Indians. The observations and rules pointed out in the preceding article, are, in a general sense, applicable to both these branches of industry.

Cinnamon groves, or trees of wild cinnamon, are to be found in every province. In Mindanao, a Dutchman, some years ago, was employed by orders of government, in examining the forests and making experiments, with a view to discover the same tree of this species that has given so much renown to Ceylon; but, whether it was owing to a failure in the discovery, or, when the plant was found, as at the time was said to be the case, the same results were not produced, from the want of skill in preparing, or stripping off the bark; certain it is, that the laudable attempt totally failed, or rather the only advantage gained, has been the extracting

---

tremely nourishing aliment; but the Spaniards always mix with it cinnamon, vanilla, &c. The ancient Mexicans obtained their coco from Soconusco, on the side of Guatimala, and cultivated at the eastern extremity of their empire. The grains were used in the way of money, as the inhabitants of the Maldives do shells.—Tr.

from the bark and more tender parts of the branches of the tree, an oil or essence of cinnamon, vigorous and aromatic in the extreme *.

About the same time, a land proprietor, of the name of Salgado, undertook to form an extensive plantation of the same species in the province of La Laguna, and succeeded in seeing upwards of a million cinnamon trees thrive and grow to a considerable size; but at last, he was reluctantly compelled to desist from his enterprise, by the same reasons which led to the failure in Mindanao.

These facts are of sufficient authority for our placing the cinnamon tree among the indigenous productions of the Philippine Islands, and considering their general excellence above those of the same nature in the rest of Asia, it may reasonably be concluded that, without the tree being identically the same, the cinnamon with

---

* The good, or Ceylon cinnamon, is the bark of the *laurus cinnamomum*, and the base kind is obtained from the *laurus cassia*. This plant is found in its native state in the missions of Manoa, in the interior of Peru, and when carefully cultivated, is said to yield a bark equal to that of Ceylon. Plantations are now formed of it, in which great pains are taken to keep the tree uncovered and well exposed to the sun, and no other plants are allowed to grow within twelve or fourteen yards of the roots.—Tr.

which it is clothed will be found finer than that yielded by the native plant of the island of Ceylon, and this circumstance, consequently, holds out a hope that, in the course of time, it may become an article of traffic, as estimable as it would be new. In order, however, that this flattering prospect may be realized, it will be requisite for the government to procure some families, or persons from the above island, acquainted with the process of stripping off the bark and preparing the cinnamon, by dexterously offering allurements, corresponding to the importance of the service, which, although in itself it may probably be an extremely simple operation, as long as it is unknown, will be an insuperable obstacle to the propagation of so important an agricultural pursuit.

Two species of the nutmeg are known here, the one in shape resembling a pigeon's-egg, and the other of a perfectly spherical form; but both are wild and little aromatic, and consequently held in no very great esteem.

Rice.—Rice is the bread and principal aliment of these natives, for which reason, although its cultivation is among the most disagreeable departments of husbandry, they devote themselves to it with astonishing constancy and alacrity, so as to form a complete contrast with their characteristic indifference in most other respects. This

must, however, be taken as a certain indication of the possibility of training them up to useful labour, whenever they can be led on in a proper manner.

The earth corresponds, with surprising fertility, to the labours of the Indian, rewarding him, in the good seasons, with ninety, and even as high as one hundred per cent.; a fact I have fully ascertained, and of which I besides possess undoubted proofs, obtained from the parish-curates of La Pampanga. As, however, the provinces are frequently visited with dreadful hurricanes (called in the country, *baguios*), desolated by locusts, and exposed to the effects of the great irregularities of nature, which, in these climes, often acts in extremes, the crops of this grain are precarious, or at least, no reliance can be placed on a certain surplus, allowing an annual exportation to China. On this account, rice cannot be placed in the list of those articles which give support to external trade *.

* These islands also produce annatto, saffron, ginger, camphor, *yerca*, pitch, &c. Oils are extracted from the coco-nut, anniseed, &c.; also from the *tangantangan*, used in medicine, and the bark of the *calingad*, in taste resembling cinnamon. The *salangan* nests, obtained from a bird like the swallow, and so much esteemed in India and China, are also found there; besides a variety of gums, resins, medicinal drugs, &c. Vinegar, of a good quality, is made in the province of Ilocos, from several articles.—Tr.

DYE WOODS AND TIMBER.—The *sibucao*, or logwood, and ebony, in both which these islands abound, are the only woods in any tolerable request *. The first is sold with advantage in Bengal, and the other meets a ready sale in the ports of China, in the absence of that brought from the island of Bourbon, which is of a quality infinitely superior. Both are, however, articles of no great consumption, for, being bulky and possessing little intrinsic value, they will not bear the high charges of freight and other expences, attendant on the navigation of the Asiatic seas, and can only suit the shipper, as cargo, who is anxious not to return to the above countries in ballast. Hence, as an object of export trade, these articles cannot be estimated at more than 30,000 dollars per annum.

I deem it superfluous to dwell on a multitude of other good and even precious woods and timber, with which the Philippine islands are gifted, because this is a subject already suf-

* The *sibucao* is the logwood of an excellent quality. They have also the braziletto, another dye-wood; the eagle-wood, *narra*, a species of red ebony striped; the *Tindal*-wood, all red; the sandel-wood; the Pangasinang fir; the *molave*, an incorruptible wood; the *guijo*, excellent for shipbuilding, as well as the *banava*, *calantes*, or Philippine cedar; the *sagovan*, red and white; Marywood, for small masts, spars, &c.; the *manga-chapuy*, *betis*, *dasag*, *dungol*, *calumpan*, and many others.—TR.

ficiently well understood, and a complete collection of specimens, as well as some large blocks, were besides transmitted some years ago to the king's dock-yard. It may, however, be proper to remark, that the establishments near the capital for cutting timber for ship-building and masts, are much more expensive than is generally supposed, as well on account of the difficulties experienced in dragging the trees from the interior of the mountains to the water's edge, as the want of regularity and foresight with which these operations have been usually conducted. Beside these reasons, as it is necessary that the other materials requisite for the construction and complete armament of vessels of a certain force, should come from Europe, it is neither easy, nor indeed, would it be economical, as was erroneously asserted, to carry into effect the government project of annually building, in the colony, a ship of the line and a frigate. It ought further to be observed, that no stock of timber, cut at a proper season and well cured, has been laid in, and although the wages of the Indian carpenters and caulkers are moderate, no comparison whatever can be made between the daily work they perform, and that which is done in the same space of time in our dock-yards of Spain.

Notwithstanding, however, the impediments

above stated, as it is undeniable that abundance of suitable timber is to be obtained, and as the conveyance of the remainder of the necessary naval stores to the Philippine islands, is shorter and more economical than to the coast of California, it possibly might answer, at least, many mariners are of this opinion, in case it is deemed expedient to continue building at San Blas the brigs and corvettes necessary for the protection of the military posts and missions, situated along the above coasts, to order them preferably to be built in Cavite, giving timely advice, and previously taking care to make the necessary arrangements.

CHAP. II.

Of Minerals.—Estates.—Manufactures.

MINERALS.—Gold abounds in Luzon and in many of the other islands; but as the mountains which conceal it are in possession of the infidel Indians, the mines are not worked; indeed it may be said they are scarcely known. These savages collect it in the brooks and streamlets, and in the form of dust, offer it to the Christians who inhabit the neighbouring plains, in exchange for coarse goods and fire-arms; and it has sometimes happened that they have brought it down in grains of one and two ounces weight. The natives of the province of Camarines partly devote themselves to the working of the mines of Mambulao and Paracale, which have the reputation of being very rich; but, far from availing themselves in the smallest degree of the advantages of art, they content themselves with extracting the ore by means of an extremely imperfect fusion, which is done by placing the mineral in shells and then heating them on embers. A considerable waste consequently takes place, and although the metal obtained is good and high coloured, it generally passes into the

hands of the district-magistrate, who collects it at a price infinitely lower than it is worth in trade. It is a generally received opinion that gold mines are equally to be met with in the province of Caraga, situated on the coasts of the great island of Mindanao, where, as well as on other points, this metal is met with equal to 22 carats. The quantity, however, hitherto brought down from the mountains by the infidel tribes, and that obtained by the tributary Indians, has not been an object of very great importance.

Well-founded reasons exist for presuming that, in the province of Ilocos, mines of virgin copper exist, a singular production of nature, or at least, not very common, if the generality of combinations under which this metal presents itself in the rest of the globe, are duly considered. This is partly inferred from the circumstance of its having been noticed that the Igorrot Indians, who occasionally come down from the mountains to barter with the Christians, use certain coarse jars or vessels of copper, evidently made by themselves with the use of a hammer, without any art or regularity; and as the ignorance of these demi-savages is too great for them to possess the notions necessary for the separation of the component parts which enter into the combination of minerals, and much less for the construction of furnaces suitable to the smelting

and formation of the moulds, it is concluded they must have found some vein of copper entirely pure, which, without the necessity of any other preparation, they have been able to flatten with the hammer and rendered malleable, so as to convert it into the rough vessels above spoken of*.

The district-magistrate of Caraga, D. Augustin de Yoldi, received a special commission from the government to explore and obtain information respecting a mine of cinnabar, which was said to be situated under his jurisdiction; and I have been informed of another of the same species in the island of Samar, the working of which has ceased for a considerable time, not because the prospect was unfavourable, but for the want of an intelligent person to superintend and carry on the operations. The utility of such a discovery is too obvious not to deserve, on the part of government, the most serious attention and

* As a proof of the great changes which must take place by the introduction of machinery in the distant possessions of Spain, it may be remarked, that in Lima, copper in pigs, sells for eight dollars, and in sheets, frequently from forty to sixty, and, during the last war, at ninety dollars per quintal. This fact suggested to an enlightened Spaniard, of the name of Lareta, the idea of establishing works for flattening; but his experiment failed, for the want of rollers and other suitable machinery.—Tr.

every encouragement to render it available; and it is to be hoped that, as the first steps have already been taken in this important disclosure, the enterprise will not be abandoned, but, on the contrary, that exertions will be made to obtain aid and advice from the Miners' College of Mexico, as the best means of removing doubt, and acting with judgment in the affair *.

---

* Native cinnabar, in which quicksilver is mineralized by sulphur, is of different shades, from yellowish to deep red. 100 parts of cinnabar contain 20 of sulphur and 80 of quicksilver, and the latter is obtained by sublimation. It was not till the 16th century that the method of refining silver by amalgamation, or the incorporation of mercury with the pulverized metallic ore, was understood. It was introduced into South America in 1571, by Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, and has since been universally used, with supplies chiefly derived from Europe. A rich quicksilver mine had been discovered in Huancavelica, an intendancy of Peru, of which the capital stands seventy-two leagues from Lima, on the Cusco road. In 1570, this mine was purchased on account of government, and the supplies of the article constituted into a monopoly on the part of the crown. In the course of 219 years, from the above date to Dec. 31, 1789, 1.040,452 quintals, or upwards of 104 millions pounds of quicksilver had been obtained from this mine, or about 4750 quintals per annum; of which the annual charges were equal to 48,346 dollars. The price of this article, deemed essential for the working of the mines in Peru, has varied greatly. In 1786, it was at 60 dollars per quintal, and in 1791, at 73. The Huancavelica mineral is found in a

Iron mineral is ramificated, if the expression may be allowed, through various points of the island of Luzon, and those who apply themselves to the working of it, without the necessity of digging apertures to obtain it, content themselves with collecting the ferruginous stones which constitute the upper stratum, and these, when placed in fusion, generally yield about 40 per cent. clear metal. This is the case in the mountains of Angat, situated in the province of Bulàcan, and also in the vicinity of the Baligua river. In Moron, however, belonging to the province of La Laguna, where the manufactory for cannon-balls is established, the ore does not yield upwards of 22 per cent. Its quality is in general better than the best Biscayan iron, as is

---

whitish mass, and when bruised is put in a vaulted furnace. Volatilized, it rises in smoke that rushes through holes made in the roof, and falling into vessels prepared for the purpose, the quicksilver precipitates in a pure, heavy and liquid mass, that is condensed by water placed in the bottom of the vases. For many years the Spanish government has not allowed this mine to be worked, which has made Peru entirely dependent on Europe for quicksilver; but the new process, introduced in the silver mines of Pasco, will supersede its use. Humboldt states that Mexico alone consumes 16,000 quintals annually, chiefly supplied from Austria, by a contract with the emperor, till 1802, since when the Almaden mine in Spain has been worked on a larger scale. A fruitless attempt was once made to obtain supplies from China for Mexico.—Tr.

proved by formal experiments, and a report made in 1798, in conformity to the orders of Governor D. Rafael Maria de Aguilar, by two master smiths from Biscay, embarked on board the squadron of Admiral Alava, in presence of the Count de Aviles and D. Felix de la Rosa, proprietors of the mines of Moron and Angat, and the factor of the Philippine Company, D. Juan Francisco Urroz. Notwithstanding these advantageous circumstances, this interesting branch of industry has not yet passed beyond the most rude principles and imperfect practice, owing to the want of correct information as to the best mode of process, as well as of funds on the part of the proprietors, in order to enable them to carry on their works. Without the aid of rolling or slitting mills, indeed, unprovided with the most essential instruments, they have hitherto confined themselves to the converting their iron into plough-shares, machettes, hoes, and such other agricultural implements; leaving the Chinese of Emouy in quiet possession of the advantages of being allowed to bring to market annual supplies of all kinds of nails, the boilers used on the sugar plantations, pots and pans, as well as other articles in this line, which might easily be manufactured in the islands*.

* Besides the above, the tutenague and an extremely fine species of loadstone are met with, and within the last fifty

In the island of Leyte, abundance of sulphur is met with, and from thence the gunpowder works of Manilla are supplied at very reasonable prices. Jaspers, cornelians and agates, are also found in profusion in many of these provinces; every thing, indeed, gives room for presuming that an infinity of combinations exist, worthy of exciting the curiosity and useful researches of mineralogists, who, unfortunately, have not hitherto extended their labours to these remote parts of the globe *.

---

years, quarries of a fine white marble have been opened. Saltpetre is also found in the islands.—Tr.

* The Spanish government, notwithstanding the complaints of foreigners, have not neglected useful and scientific researches in their transmarine dominions, though, owing to distance, it is to be regretted the labours of learned men have not been extended to the Philippine Islands. Peru, though less known in England than the other portions of South America, has been fortunate in this respect. Cieza, Gomara and Zarate, were the earliest historians who attempted to give a few notices of the esculent and medicinal plants of Peru. Garcilaso, Pinelo, Calancha and Acosta, followed them, with more precision and detail; but it has only been within few years that the forests and valleys were explored.

In 1736, the celebrated expedition was undertaken to measure the terrestrial degrees beneath the equator, consisting of Godin, Bouguer, and Condamine, on the part of France, and the two Ulloas, on that of Spain. Jussieu was attached to

Pearl fisheries are, from time to time, undertaken on some points of the coast of the island of

---

them, in quality of botanist, and De Morainville, as draftsman. Jussieu, after devoting infinite pains to the botany of Peru, returning to Europe, was plundered at Buenos Ayres of his drawings and specimens by his servant, who supposed his trunk contained articles of treasure. The year 1778 was, however, the most important to the botany of Peru. Charles III. ordained fresh researches, and D. Jose Pavon was named on the part of Spain, and Mr. Dombey on that of France, assisted by D. Hipolito Ruiz, who justly may be styled the Linnæus of Peru. Their commission being ended, Messrs. Tafaya and Pulgar were left behind to continue their botanical researches, and then it was that the Andes mountains were first explored—the Andes, that rich treasury of the gifts of nature. Ten years of unceasing application supplied the materials for the grand work, called the *Flora Peruana*. In 1790, another expedition was formed by Charles IV., under the care of D. Alexander Malespina, to explore, by sea and land, the kingdom of Peru. It is to this distinguished individual that the world is indebted for surveys of the Peruvian coast, republished in England. Much is also due to Pineda in Peru, and Mutis in Santa Fe de Bogota. But to the works of Humboldt and Bonpland, the public are, perhaps, more indebted for a knowledge of the South American continent than any of their scientific predecessors, and they acknowledge the great aid and protection they received from the Spanish government. Humboldt, it is now understood, has formed the project of visiting the Indian Archipelago, in which case the Philippine Islands will, no doubt, enter within the range of his valuable researches.—Tr.

Mindanao, and some of the smaller ones, not far from that of Zelu, but with little success and less constancy, not because there is a scarcity of fine pearls, of a bright colour and considerable size, but on account of the want of skill in the divers, and their just dread of the sharks, which, in great numbers, infest these seas. Amber is frequently gathered in considerable lumps in the vicinity of Samar and the other islands called Bissayas, as well as mother of pearl, tortoise-shell, and red and black coral, of the latter kind of which, I have seen shafts as thick as my finger and six or eight feet long.

ESTATES.—The proprietors of estates in the Philippines, are of four classes. The most considerable is that of the religious orders of St. Augustin and St. Dominic, who cultivate their respective lands on joint account, or let them out at a moderate ground-rent, which the planters pay in kind; but far from living in opulence, and accumulating the immense revenues some of the religious communities enjoy in America, they stand in need of all they earn and possess for their maintenance, and in order to be enabled to discharge the various duties and obligations annexed to the missions with which they are intrusted *.

The *Doctrina* or mission, is an extent of country placed

The second class comprehends the Spanish proprietors, whose number possibly does not exceed a dozen of persons, and even they labour under such disadvantages, and have to contend with so many obstacles, under the existing order of things, that, compelled to divide their lands into rice plantations, in consequence of this being the species of culture to which the Indians are most inclined, and to devote a considerable portion of them to the grazing of horned cattle, no one of them is in a situation to give to agriculture the variety and extent desired, or to attain any progress in a pursuit which in other colonies rapidly leads to riches.

The third consists of the principal Mestizos and Indians, and is in fact that which constitutes the real body of farming proprietors. In the fourth and last may be included all the other natives, who generally possess a small strip of land situated round their dwellings, or at the extremities of the various towns and settlements

---

under the spiritual care of friars, who are almost exclusively used for the instruction of the people of the interior, chiefly consisting of Indians, and who act the same as a curate in a parish. They might, for that reason, be called with equal propriety parochial districts, under the care of religious orders, placed there by the heads of their respective convents, under the authority of government, and in many cases acting with a degree of civil power.—Tr.

formed by the conquerors; besides what they may have obtained from their ancestors in the way of legal inheritance, which rights have been confirmed to them by the present sovereign of the colony.

From the two latter classes it is that those great obstacles arise of which mention has already been made, and they are such as to dishearten Spanish individuals, and prevent them from employing their capitals in the improvement of agriculture, under the following circumstances. As the Philippine Indian, notwithstanding the peculiar apathy of his general character, is extremely anxious to extend his territorial property, and, on the other hand, views with displeasure, and even with a certain degree of apprehension, the establishment of Spanish estates in his own neighbourhood, no sooner does he find that attempts to clear and prepare new lands are for this purpose making, than he resolves to play off all the artifices his malice can suggest, and to give rise to as many impediments as he can, in order to thwart and prevent the quiet possession, to which, in point of right, the new planter thinks he is entitled. This is a greater impediment than at first can be imagined, and although the titles the Indian alleges in his favour are too frequently no other than such as are founded on the traditions of the

elders living in his own district, and not on legal instruments deposited in the archives of the respective towns, it is made a regular and concerted scheme among these elders and their partisans, to eject the Spanish proprietor, who, becoming disgusted, enters into a composition and arrangement, afterwards burdensome to him, with a view to rid himself of further trouble and molestation, or abandons his projects altogether, not to be involved in troublesome lawsuits, and in which the legal defenders of the Indians, a duty that devolves on the fiscals of the civil and criminal courts, act with a great degree of partiality.

The greatest subject of regret, however, is, that in cases when the Indians definitively succeed in obtaining verdicts in their favour regarding disputed lands, it follows that the Spaniard, who was disposed to dedicate himself strenuously to cultivate the property, is deprived of it; but the successful litigants neither clear the lands, nor attempt to comply with any of the conditions imposed by the 61st article of the Regulations of the Intendants, relating to private property. According to the enactments therein contained, this circumstance of itself would be a sufficient plea to warrant the ejectment of the new master, and again place the property in the class of crown lands, by which means it might

be distributed among more laborious persons. Nevertheless, this latter case never occurs, nor would the sagacity of the Indian leave him unprepared with fresh subterfuges and means of eluding the effect of the regulation, if there was a disposition to enforce it; relying chiefly on that partiality in his favour generally prevailing in the superior courts, no doubt consonant with the spirit of our legislation, which mistaking the want of information for simplicity and innocence, has sought to excuse the faults the Indians frequently commit, by classing them among the follies or aberrations attendant on the infancy and old age of man, born in more civilized societies. From whatever motives this backwardness may arise, it is indispensably necessary to overcome obstacles of such great moment, if the views to extend the cultivation and perfection of the various branches of industry in these islands are to be carried into effect. It will, beyond doubt, in some measure dissipate the distrust by which the Indian is actuated, when the new and paternal exertions of the superior government, to ameliorate his present situation, are fully known, and when that valuable portion of our distant population is assured that their rights will henceforward be respected, and those exactions and compulsory levies which formerly so much disheartened them, are totally abo-

lished. On the other hand, a new stimulus will be given by the living example and fresh impulse communicated to the provinces by other families emigrating and settling there, nurtured in the spirit and principles of those reforms in the ideas and maxims of government, by which the present era is distinguished. A practical participation in these advantages will, most assuredly, awaken a spirit of enterprise and emulation that may be extremely beneficial to agriculture, and as the wants of the natives increase in proportion as they are enabled to know and compare the comforts arising out of the presence and extension of conveniences and luxuries in their own towns, they will naturally be led to possess and adopt them.

So salutary a change however can only be the work of time, and as long as the government confines itself to a system merely protecting, the effects must consequently be slow. As it is therefore necessary to put in action more powerful springs than the ordinary ones, it will be found expedient partly to relax from some of those general principles which apply to societies, differently constituted, or rather formed of other perfectly distinct elements. As relating to the subject under discussion, I fortunately discover two means, pointed out in the laws themselves, essentially just, and at the same time capable of

producing in this populous colony, more than in any other, the desired results. The legislator, founding himself on the common obligation of the subject to contribute something in return for the protection he receives, and to cooperate in the increase of the power and opulence of the state, proscribes idleness as a crime, and points out labour as a duty; and although the regulations touching the Indians breathe the spirit of humanity, and exhibit the wisdom with which they were originally formed, they nevertheless concur and are directed to this primary object. In them the distribution of vacant lands, as well as of the Indians at fair daily wages to clear them, is universally allowed, and these are the means above pointed out, from an equitable and intelligent application of which the most beneficial consequences may be expected.

The first cannot be attended with any great difficulty, because all the provinces abound in waste and vacant lands, and scarcely is there a district in which some are not to be found of private property completely uncultivated and neglected, and consequently susceptible, as above stated, of being legally transferred, for this reason alone, to the possession of an active owner. Let their nature however be what it may, in their adjudication, it is of the greatest import-

ance to proceed with uniformity, by consecrating, in a most irrevocable manner, the solemnity of all similar grants. Public interest and reason, in the Philippine Islands, require that in all such cases deference only should be paid to demands justly interposed, and formally established within a due and prefixed period; but after full and public notice has been given by the respective judicial authorities, of the titles about to be granted, the counter claims the natives may seek to put in after the elapse of the period prefixed, should be peremptorily disregarded. Although at first sight this appears a direct infringement on the imprescriptible rights of property, it must be considered that in some cases individual interests ought to be sacrificed to general good, and that the balance used, when treating of the affairs of state, is never of that rigid kind as if applied to those of minor consideration. The fact is, that by this means many would be induced to form estates, who have hitherto been withheld by the dread of involving themselves, and spending their money in lawsuits; at the same time the natives, gradually accustoming themselves to this new order of things, would lay aside that disposition to strife and contention, which forms so peculiar a trait in their character, and that antipathy and odium

would also disappear, with which they have usually viewed the agricultural undertakings of Spaniards.

Proceeding on to the consideration of the second means of accelerating the improvement of agriculture, viz. the distribution of the Indians, it will suffice to say that it would be equally easy to shew that it is absolutely necessary rigorously to carry into effect, in the Philippine Islands, whatever the laws on this subject prescribe, otherwise we must give up all those substantial hopes entertained of the felicity of the colony. We are no longer in a situation to be restricted to the removal of ordinary obstacles, and the season is gone by in which, as heretofore, it entered into our policy to employ no other than indirect stimulants, in order to incline the Indian to labour. It is evident that admonitions and offers of reward no longer suffice; nor indeed have the advantageous terms proposed to them by some planters, with a view to withdraw the lower orders of the natives, such as the *timauas* and *caglianes*, or plebeians, from the idle indifference in which they are sunk, been of any avail. Their wants and wishes being easily supplied, the whole of their happiness seems to depend on quiet and repose, and their highest enjoyment on the pleasure of sleep. Energy, however, and a certain degree of severity

must be employed, if permanent resources are to be called forth, and if the progressive settlement of European families and the formation of estates, proportioned to the fertility of the soil and capabilities of the country, are to enter into the views of government. In vain would grants and transfers of vacant and useless lands be made to new and enterprising proprietors, unless at the same time they can be provided with labourers, and experience every other possible facility, in order to clear, enclose, and cultivate them. Hence follows the indispensable necessity of appealing to the system of distributions, as above pointed out; for what other class of labourers can be obtained in a country where the whites are so few, unless it is the natives? Should they object to personal service, should they refuse to labour for an equitable and daily allowance, by which means they would also cease to be burdens to the state and to society, why are they not to be compelled to contribute by this means to the prosperity of that community of which they are members; in a word, to the public good, and thus make some provision for old age? If the soldier, conveyed away from his native land, submits to dangers, and is unceasingly exposed to death in defence of the state, why should not the Indian moderately use his strength and activity in tilling the fields

which are to sustain him and enrich the commonwealth?

Besides, things in the Philippine Islands wear a very different aspect to what they do on the American continent, where, as authorized by the said laws, a certain number of Indians may be impressed for a season, and sent off inland to a considerable distance from their dwellings, either for the purposes of agriculture, or working of the mines, provided only they are taken care of during their journeys, maintained, and the price of their daily labour, as fixed by the civil authorities, regularly paid to them *. The immense valleys and mountains susceptible of

* Allusion is here made to the *mita*, or compulsory labour of the Indians in the mines. It was once general in the mining countries of Spanish America, but, in Mexico, has been discontinued for upwards of fifty years. It continued in Peru, but by a decree of the Cortes, when assembled in Cadiz, was altogether abolished, and now the constitution is restored in Spain, this decree no doubt will be acted upon. The history of this species of requisition is as follows: Viceroy Toledo was the first who caused a regular enumeration of the Indians to be made, from eighteen to fifty, the ages at which they begin and cease to pay tribute and work in the mines. He divided them into 614 allotments or *repartimientos*, in order to place them under the care of persons fixed upon, generally Europeans of wealth and respectability. He assigned the seventh part of the Indians registered to the

cultivation, especially in the island of Luzon, being once settled, and the facilities of obtaining

---

working of the mines, under strict and formal regulations, which, unfortunately, were not always followed. According to these regulations, the choice of the *mitayo*, or Indian fixed upon, was to take place in his own town, in presence of his governor or cacique, and in such manner that the lot could only fall upon him once in seven years. In Potosi, he was only compelled to work four months, each labourer having two others to relieve him, who served the same space of time, alternating, one week of work, and two of rest; so that in the thirty-two years which intervene between eighteen and fifty, the Indian was liable to serve eighteen months in the mines. From their native provinces they were conducted by their own captains; the married accompanied by their wives, and an exact list made of all the effects carried with them. No alteration could be made in their respective destinations or departments of labour, so that the one on whom the lot had fallen to work in the mines, could not exchange with him who was to attend to the mills. They received 20 rials, about 11s. 3d. per week, and their provisions supplied at a fixed rate. For travelling expences, they were allowed half a rial per league.

The inhabitants of the district of Porco, situated behind the Andacaba Cordillera, in Upper Peru and near Potosi, in a bleak and desert part of the country, contributed to the royal *mita* employed in working the latter mines, and for this *tanda* or distribution of labour, they were called upon in turns, when they cast lots for every seventh man. They felt a dread in being employed in this kind of work, owing to the asthmatic complaints so many of their countrymen have contracted under

hands increased, such legal acts of compulsion, far from being any longer necessary, will have introduced a spirit of industry that will render the labours of the field supportable and even desirable; and in this occupation all the tributary natives of the surrounding settlements can be alternately employed, by the day or week, and thus do their work almost at the door of their own huts, and as it were in sight of their wives and children.

If, after what has been above stated, the apparent opposition which at first sight strikes the eye, in Law 40, Title 12, Book 6, speaking on this subject, and expressly referring to the Philippine Islands, should be alleged, no more will be necessary than to study its genuine sense, or read it with attention, in order to be convinced of its perfect concordance with the essential parts of the other laws of the Indies, already quoted in explanation and support of the system of distributing the labourers. The above-mentioned law does indeed contain a strict recommendation to employ the Chinese and Japanese, not domiciliated, in preference to the Indians, in the

---

ground, and they left their cabins and families with despondency, after the prayers of the church had been offered up for them, accompanied by the mournful music of their drums and fifes.—Tr.

establishments for cutting timber and other royal works, and further enjoins that use is only to be made of the latter in emergencies, and when the preservation of the state should require it. It has however happened that, since the remote period at which the above law was promulgated, not only all contracts and commerce have ceased, but also every communication with Japan has been interrupted, and for a number of years not a single individual of that ferocious race has existed in the Philippine Islands. With regard to the Chinese, who are supposed to be numerous in the capital, of late years they have diminished so much, that according to a census made by orders of the government in the year 1807, no more than 4700 are found on the registers; and if in consequence of their secreting themselves, or withdrawing into the interior, a third more might be added to the above amount, their total numbers would still remain very inconsiderable, and infinitely inferior to what is required, not only for the tillage of the estates, but even for the royal works.

As, therefore, the Japanese have totally disappeared, and the number of Chinese is evidently inadequate to the wants of agriculture, it almost necessarily follows that the practice of distributing the Indian labourers, as allowed by the aforesaid laws of the Indies, under all circum-

stances, is the only alternative left. Even if, against the adoption of this measure, it should be attempted to object the ambiguous sense of the concluding part of the second clause, it would be easy to comprehend its true intent and meaning, by referring to Law 1, Title 13, Book 6, which says—"That, considering the inconveniences which would arise from doing away with certain distributions of grounds, gardens, estates, and other plantations, in which the Indians are interested, as a matter on which the preservation of those distant dominions and provinces depends, it is ordained that compulsory labour, and such distributions as are advantageous to the public good, shall continue." After so pointed an explanation, and a manifestation so clear of the spirit of our legislation in this respect, all further comments would be useless, and no doubt whatever can be any longer entertained of the expediency, and even of the justice of putting the plan of well-regulated distributions in practice, as a powerful means to promote the agriculture, and secure to Spain the possession of these valuable dominions in the Indian seas*.

* The doctrine here put forth with regard to the propriety of compelling the Indian to labour, &c. would by no means suit the feelings of an Englishman; but it is now useless to

For a more accurate idea of the advantages resulting from agriculture in the Philippine Islands, vide the Comparative Statement contained in Table, No. II., placed in the Appendix, which, it will be noticed, only embraces the articles of sugar, rice, and indigo.

MANUFACTURES.—If in my description of the chief natural productions of these islands, I have purposely omitted many of the second order, to the cultivation of which the Indians willingly devote themselves, with a view not to confound them with those having a more direct connexion with the export trade, the circle must be still more confined, when I come to treat of their manufacturing industry, under the same point of view. It would be impossible for any one to contradict the truth of the remarks of D. Juan Francisco Urroz, belonging to the Philippine Company, in his long and correct report, addressed to the managing committee in 1802, when he observes, "That the Philippine Islands,

---

attempt to impugn it, as the re-establishment of the constitution totally prevents its being put in practice. The Indians are a difficult race to manage, and it must be acknowledged that the author's observations contain many practical truths, though perhaps the conclusions he draws from them, are not altogether correct. Some notice has already been taken of this subject in the Preliminary Discourse.—TR.

from time immemorial, were acquainted with, and still retain that species of industry peculiar to the country, adapted to the customs and wants of the natives, and which constitutes the chief branch of their clothing. This, although confined to coarse articles, may in its class be called perfect, as far as it answers the end for which it is intended; and if an attempt were made to enumerate the quantity of mats, handkerchiefs, sheeting, and a variety of other cloths manufactured for this purpose only in the provinces of Tondo, Laguna, Batangas, Ilocos, Cagayan, Camarines, Albay, Bisayas, &c. immense supplies of each kind would appear, which give occupation to an incalculable number of looms, indistinctly worked by Indians, Chinese, and Sangleyan Mestizos, indeed all the classes, in their own humble dwellings, built of canes and thatched with palm leaves, without any apparatus, or even the appearance of regular manufacture."

With equal truth am I enabled to add, that the natural abilities of these Indians in the manufacture of all kinds of cloths, fine as well as coarse, are really admirable. They succeed in reducing the harsh filaments of the palm-tree, known by the name of *Abaca**, to such a degree

* If it was not expressly stated that the *Abaca* is a species of palm, from which the Philippines are described as manu-

of fineness, that they afterwards convert them into textures equal to the best muslins of Bengal. The beauty and evenness of their embroideries and open works excite surprise; in short, the damask table-cloths, ornamental weaving, textures of cotton and palm-fibres, intermixed with silk, and manufactured in the above-mentioned provinces, clearly prove how much the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, in natural abilities and dexterity, resemble the other people of the Asiatic regions. It must nevertheless be allowed, that a want is noticed of that finish and polish which the perfection of art gives to each commodity; but this circumstance ought not to appear strange, if we consider that, entirely devoid of all methodical instruction, and ignorant also of the importance of the subdivision of labour, which contributes so greatly to simplify,

---

facturing cordage and even fine goods, it might have been supposed that allusion was made to the *Sunn* plant *(Crotolaria Juncea)*, used in Bengal and other parts of the East Indies, which I very much suspect is the case, for in some original papers in my possession, relating to the Philippine Islands, the *Abaca* is called the hemp-plant. The *Gomuti*, called by the Spaniards *cubo negro*, is also used for the same purpose, and the *bonote* or *cairo*, a species of tow made from the coco-plant, serves for caulking. In Sumatra, it is stated by Marsden, that excellent twine is made from a species of nettle, called *Caloace*, and the natives also make twine of the bark of a shrub called *Endeloo;* and in the Lampoon country, from the

shorten, and improve the respective excellence of all kinds of works, the same Indians gin and clean the cotton, and then spin and weave it, without any other instruments than their hands and feet, aided only by the coarse and unsightly looms they themselves construct in a corner of their huts, with scarcely any thing else than a few canes and sticks.

From the preceding observations it may easily be deduced that, although the natives succeed in preparing, with admirable dexterity, the productions of their soil, and therewith satisfy the greatest part of their domestic wants, facts which certainly manifest their talents and aptitude to be employed in works of more taste and delicacy, manufacturing industry is nevertheless far from being generalized, nor can it be said to be placed with any degree of solidity on its true and proper basis. Hence arise those great supplies of goods annually imported into the country, for

---

bark of the *Bagoo* tree. The bark of the *Pesang*, or plantain, also furnishes fibres, in some places worked in the loom. The *Coir* and *Gomuti* are palms, and used in Bengal for cordage, &c. The hemp-plant in Bengal and other parts of the East Indies, is used for an intoxicating preparation made of it, called *Bang*, and not for cordage, to which the *sunn* plant, or the Paut *(Corchorus Olitorius)* are almost exclusively applied.—Tr.

the purpose of making up the deficiencies of the local manufactures.

That regular distribution or classification of the assemblage of operations which follow each other in gradation, from the rough preparation of the first materials, till the same have arrived at their perfect state of manufacture, instead of being practised, is entirely unknown. The want of good machinery to free the cotton from the multitude of seeds with which it is encumbered, so as to perform the operation with ease and quickness, is the first and greatest obstacle that occurs; and its tediousness to the Indians is so repugnant, that many sell their crops to others, without separating the seeds, or decline growing the article altogether, not to be plagued with the trouble of cleaning it. As the want of method is also equal to the superabundance or waste of time employed, the expences of the goods manufactured increase in the same proportion, under such evident and great disadvantages; for which reason, far from being able to compete with those brought from China and Hindostan, they only acquire estimation in the interior, when wanted to supply the place of the latter, or in cases of accidental scarcity.

In a word, the only manufactured articles annually exported from the Philippine Islands are

8 or 12,000 pieces of light sail cloth, 200,000 lbs. of Abaca cordage assorted, 600 buffalo hides and deer skins, which can scarcely be considered in a tanned state; for, although the Royal Company, from the time of their establishment, long continued to export considerable quantities of dimities, calicos, stripes, checks, and coverlids, as well as other cotton and silk goods, it was more with a view to stimulate the districts of Ilocos to continue in the habits of manufacturing, and thus introduce among the inhabitants of that province a taste for industry, than the expectation of gain by the sale of this kind of merchandise, either in Spain or any of the sections of America. At length, wearied with the losses experienced by carrying on this species of mercantile operations, without answering the principal object in view, they resolved, for the time being, to suspend adventures attended with such discouraging circumstances.

Notwithstanding so many impediments, it would not, however, be prudent in the government entirely to abandon the enterprise, and lose sight of the advantages the country offers, or indeed, to neglect turning the habitual facilities of the natives to some account. Far from there existing any positive grounds for despairing of the progress of manufacturing industry,

it may justly be presumed that, whenever the sovereign, by adopting a different line of policy, shall allow the unlimited and indistinct settlement of all kinds of foreign colonists, and grant them the same facilities and protection enjoyed by national ones, they will be induced to flock to the Philippine Islands in considerable numbers, lured by the hope of accumulating fortunes in a country that presents a thousand attractions of every kind. Many, no doubt, will preferably devote themselves to commerce, others to agricultural undertakings and also to the pursuits of mining, but necessarily some will turn their attention and employ their funds in the formation of extensive manufactures, aided by intelligent instructors and suitable machinery. The newly introduced information and arts being thus diffused, it is natural to expect they will be progressively adopted by a people already possessing a taste and genius for this species of labour, by which means manufacturing industry will soon be raised from the state of neglect and unprofitableness in which it is now left. For my owu part, I do not conceive any other measure by which so desirable and beneficial a public object can be realized. As an illustration to the present subject, and in order also that a more accurate idea may be formed of the class and va-

riety of articles manufactured in the Philippine Islands, I have prepared a general list, exhibiting also the respective provinces in which they are manufactured, and this statement will be found in the Appendix, in Table, N°. III.

CHAP. III.

Internal and external Commerce.—Funds therein invested.—Property belonging to pious and charitable Institutions.—Mercantile Shipping.—Royal Philippine Company

INTERNAL COMMERCE.—The circulation of the country productions and effects of all kinds among the inhabitants of the provinces, which, properly speaking, constitutes their internal commerce, is tolerably active and considerable. Owing to the great facilities of conveyance, afforded by the number of rivers and lakes, on the margins of which the Indians are fond of fixing their dwellings, this commerce might be infinitely greater, if it was not obstructed by the monopoly of the magistrates in their respective districts and the unjust prerogative, exercised by the city, of imposing rates and arbitrary prices on the very persons who come to bring in supplies. Nevertheless, as the iniquitous operations of the district magistrates, however active they may be, besides being confined to their pecuniary means, regularly consist of arrangements to buy up only the chief articles, and those which promise most advantage, with least trouble; as that restless

inquietude which impels man on, under the hope of bettering his condition, acts even amidst the rigour of oppression, a certain degree of stimulus and scope is still left in favour of internal trade.

Hence it follows, that there is scarcely an island or province, that does not carry on some traffic or other, by keeping up relations with its neighbours, which sometimes extend as far as the capital; where, in proportion as the produce and raw materials find a ready market, returns suitable and adequate to the consumption of each place, respectively, are obtained. If, however, it would be difficult to form an idea, even in the way of approximation, of the exchanges which take place between the various provinces, a task that would render it necessary to enumerate them, one by one, it is equally so to make an estimate of the total amount of this class of operations carried on in Manilla, their common centre. Situated in the bottom of an immense bay, bathed by a large river, and the country round divided by an infinite number of streams and lakes descending from the provinces by which the capital is surrounded, the produce and effects are daily brought in and go out of suburbs so extended in a diversity of small vessels and canoes, without its being possible to obtain any exact account of the multiplicity of trans-

actions carried on at one and the same time, in a city built on so large a scale.

Besides the traffic founded on ordinary consumption, the necessity of obtaining assortments of home manufactured as well as imported goods, in order to supply the fairs, known by the name of *tianguis*, and which are held weekly in almost every town, there is another species of speculation, peculiar to the rich Indians and Sangley Mestizos, an industrious race, and also possessed of the largest portion of the specie. This consists in the anticipated purchase of the crops of indigo, sugar, rice, &c. with a view to fix their own prices on the produce thus contracted for, when resold to the second hand. A propensity to barter and traffic, in all kinds of ways, is indeed universal among the natives, and as the principal springs which urge on internal circulation are already in motion, nothing more is wanting than at once to destroy the obstacles previously pointed out, and encourage the extension of luxury and comforts, in order that, by the number of the people's wants being increased, as well as the means of supplying them, the force and velocity of action may in the same proportion be augmented.

EXTERNAL COMMERCE.—Under this general denomination are comprised the relations the Philippine Islands keep up with other nations,

with our own possessions in America, and with the mother country; or, in other words, the sum total of their imports and exports. Commencing, therefore, by giving an approximate idea of the nature and amount of the latter, in order afterwards to be enabled to dwell more minutely on the various particulars relating to this subject, I have formed the annexed Table, N° IV., in which, confining myself to ordinary times, the amounts will be found calculated in the gross, so as to present no other than general results. Although in the formation of this approximate statement I have, in part, founded myself on positive data, in candour I feel compelled to confess, that the irregularity of the seasons in which I have been on the spot, has obliged me, in some measure, to proceed in the dark, and left me under the necessity of availing myself of estimates chiefly derived from my own observations and experience, for the want of a better guide.

Many are the causes which, within the last ten or twelve years, have influenced the mercantile relations of these islands, and prevented their organization on permanent and known principles. The chief one, no doubt, has been the frequent and unforeseen changes, from peace to war, which have marked that unhappy period, and as under similar circumstances merchants, more than any other class of persons, are in the

habit of acting on extremes, there have been occasions in which, misled by the exaggerated idea of the galleon of Acapulco, and anxious to avail themselves of the first prices, generally also the highest, foreign speculators have inundated Manilla with goods, by a competition from all quarters; and others, owing to the channels being obstructed, when this market has experienced an absolute scarcity of commodities as well as of funds, necessary to continue the usual and almost only branch of commerce left. The frequent failure of the sugar and indigo crops, has also in many instances restrained the North Americans and other neutrals from coming to these islands with cargoes, and induced them to prefer Java, where they are at all times sure of finding returns. Besides the influence of these extraordinary causes on the uncertainty and irregularity of external commerce, no small share must also be attributed to the strangeness of the peculiar constitution of the country, or the principles on which its trade is established.

Scarcely will it be believed, in the greater part of civilized Europe, that a Spanish colony exists between Asia and America, whose merchants are forbidden to avail themselves of their advantageous situation, and that, as a special favour only are they allowed to send their effects to Mexico, once a year, but under the following

restrictions. It is a necessary condition, that every shipper shall be a member of the Board of Trade, and therein entitled to a vote, which supposes a residence of some years in the country, besides the possession of property of his own, to the amount of 8000 dollars. He is compelled to join with the other members, in order to be enabled to ship his goods in bales of a determined form and dimensions, in one single vessel, arranged, fitted out, and commanded by officers of the royal navy, under the character of a man of war. He has also to contribute his proportion of 20,000 dollars, which, in the shape of a present, are given to the commander, at the end of every round voyage. He cannot in any way interfere in the choice or qualities of the vessel, notwithstanding his property is to be adventured in her; and what completes the extravagance of the system, is, that before any thing is done he must pay down 25 or 40 per cent. for freight, according to circumstances, which money is distributed among certain canons, aldermen, subalterns of the army, and widows of Spaniards, to whom a given number of tickets or certified permits to ship are granted, either as a compensation for the smallness of their pay, or in the way of a privilege; but, on express condition that, although they themselves are not members of the Board of Trade, they shall not be allowed

to negotiate and transfer them to persons not having that quality. In the custom-house no cockets being given, unless the number of bales to be shipped are accompanied by the corresponding permits, and as it besides frequently happens that there is a degree of competition between the parties seeking to try their fortune in this way, the original holders of the permits very often hang back, in such manner that I have seen 500 dollars offered for the transfer of a right to ship three bales, which scarcely contained goods to the amount of 1000 dollars. Such, nevertheless, is the truth, and such the exact description of the famous Acapulco ship, which has excited so much jealousy among the merchants of Seville and Cadiz, and given rise to such an infinite number of disputes and lawsuits *.

* The restraints here complained of are now totally removed, and as an instance of the attention paid to the improvement of the Philippine Islands as well as the commerce of the whole transmarine provinces, since the reestablishment of the constitution, the annexed decree, issued by the Cortes in their sitting of 8th Nov. 1820, is subjoined.—Tr.

In the said sitting it was also proposed, that whilst the Cortes did not determine to the contrary, all the countries which, by the constitution, belong to the Spanish monarchy, should, as integral parts of the same, enjoy the benefits of the new general Tariff. The following resolutions were also read and approved:—

"1. That the grant of his Majesty, allowing trade between

So complete a deviation from the rules and maxims usually received in trade, could not fail

---

the Philippine Islands and ports in America, on the Pacific, made last January, be valid and observed, as well in national as foreign articles permitted by said grant, and in Spanish bottoms indistinctly.

" 2. All produce and goods manufactured in the Philippine Islands shall be admitted as national ones in the authorized ports, as well in America as Europe and Asia, when accompanied by regular certificates, proving their origin, and in national bottoms.

" 3. All national vessels shall besides be allowed to carry on direct trade from any Spanish port of America and Europe, by the Cape of Good Hope, to foreign ports in the East Indies and China, and it shall be lawful for them to import and deposit, in the authorized Spanish ports of America and Europe, the following goods and effects, viz.—Cinnamon of Ceylon, pearls, diamonds, ivory, tortoise-shell, tea of all kinds, earthenware or china, lackered articles, manufactured mother of pearl, manufactured ivory, manufactured tortoise-shell, fillagree of all kinds, dyes, boxes of paints, ivory and other fans, coarse and candy sugar, spun cotton, from No. 60 upwards, plain, striped, and worked muslins of all kinds, cotton and muslin handkerchiefs of all kinds, plain, striped, and worked cambrics, nankeens, cotton stripes, &c.

" 4. The import duties of said articles shall be laid down in the general tariff, according to the bases approved by the Cortes.

" 5. The regulations contained in Art. 12 of the fundamental bases of the general tariff approved by the Cortes, shall be observed with regard to cargos coming from the Philip-

to produce in the Philippine Islands, as in fact it has, effects equally extraordinary with regard to those who follow this pursuit. The merchant of Manilla is, in fact, entirely different from the one of Cadiz or Amsterdam. Without any correspondents in the manufacturing countries and consequently possessed of no suitable advices of the favourable variations in the respective markets, without brokers and even without regular books, he seems to carry on his profession on no one fixed principle, and to have acquired his routine

---

pine Islands, and of which the vessels may enter any foreign port in America or Europe.

" 6. In order that this freedom granted to trade may not be injurious to national industry and agriculture, as well in Asia as in America and Europe, as it would be if extended to Asia by the Cape of Good Hope, with foreign cargos and productions, more than from the Philippine Islands, it shall not be lawful to bring to ports of America and Europe, by said way of the Cape, in each vessel, foreign goods enumerated in this decree, more than the amount of 50,000 dollars, stated on the clearances, and the remainder of the cargos shall be completed with goods and effects of the Philippine Islands, or of other productions from foreign countries of Asia, which are free, according to the general tariff.

" 7. The government is enjoined to require of the Political Chief and Local Authorities of Manilla, information respecting the most adequate means of encouraging the agriculture, industry, navigation and commerce of the Philippine Islands."

of business, from mere habit and vague custom. His contracts are made out on stamped paper, and his bills or promissory notes no other than long and diffuse writings or bonds, of which the dates and amounts are kept more in the shape of bundles, than by any due entry on his books; and what at once gives the most clear idea of this irregularity, is, the singular fact that, for the space of twenty-five and possibly fifty years, only one bankrupt has presented the state of his affairs to the Board of Trade, in conformity to the regulations prescribed by the general Statutes of Bankruptcy, whereas, numbers of cases have occurred, in which these merchants have wasted or secreted the property of others with impunity. Hence have arisen those informalities, subterfuges and disputes, in a word, the absence of all mercantile business, carried on in a scrupulously punctual and correct manner. Hence, also, have followed that distrust and embarrassment with which commercial operations are attended, as well as the difficulty of calculating their fluctuations. On the other hand, as in order to send off an expedition by the annual ship to Acapulco, the previous consent of the majority of the incorporated merchants is necessary, before this point is decided, months are passed in intrigues and disputes, the peremptory

period arrives, and if the articles wanted are in the market, they are purchased up with precipitation and paid for with the monies the shippers have been able to obtain at interest from the administrators of pious and charitable funds. In this manner, compelled to act almost always without plan or concert, yet accustomed to gain at the fair of Acapulco, notwithstanding so many impediments and the exorbitant premiums paid for the money lent, these merchants follow the strange maxim of risking little or no property of their own; and unaware, or rather, disregarding the importance of economy in the expences and regularity of their general method of living, it is not possible they can ever accumulate large fortunes, or form solid and well-accredited houses.

Thus oppressed by a system, as unjust as it is absurd, and conducting their affairs in the way above described, it is not strange that these gentlemen, at the same time yielding to the indolence consequent to the climate, should neglect or behold with indifference all the other secondary resources which the supplying the wants of the country and the extensive scope and variety of its produce, offer to the man of active mind. Hence it follows, as already observed, that the whole of the interior trade is at present

absorbed by the principal Indians, the Sangley Mestizos of both sexes, and a few Chinese pedlars.

Notwithstanding, however, the defective manner in which the generality of the merchants act, some already begin to distinguish themselves by the prudence of their conduct, by forwarding, in due time, their orders to the manufacturers of India and China, and, in other respects, guiding themselves by the principles which characterize the intelligent merchant. Finally, it is to be presumed that, as soon as the government shall have thrown down this singular and preposterous system that has been the cause of so many disorders, and proclaimed the unlimited freedom of Philippine commerce, the greatest part of these people will rise up from the state of inaction in which they now live, and the relations of the colony will then assume that course and extent corresponding to its advantages of position. At least, if our national merchants should not act up to the impulse given to all kinds of mercantile enterprises by the beneficent hand of the sovereign, foreigners will not be wanting, who, relying on due toleration, will be induced to convey their fortunes and families to the Philippine Islands, and vigorously encouraging the exportation of their valuable productions, amply

secure the fruits of their laudable activity and well-combined speculations.

CAPITALS EMPLOYED IN COMMERCE.—Were a person, judging from the numbers constituting the body of registered merchants, and supposing all of them to possess the essential requisites prescribed by our commercial regulations, to form a prudent estimate of the amount of capital employed by them, his calculations would turn out extremely erroneous, for besides the ease with which regulations of this kind are eluded, many are merely nominal traders, and others, whose mercantile existence is purely artificial, and sustained in a temporary manner, by means of a forced species of circulation, peculiar to this country. This consists in obtaining the acquiescence of the administrators of pious and charitable funds, let out at interest, to renew the bonds they hold during other successive risks, waiting, as it were, till some fatal tempest has swallowed up the vessel in which these merchants suppose their property to be embarked, and at once cancelled all their obligations. On the other hand, neither excessive expences nor the shipment of large quantities of goods to Acapulco, can in any way be taken as a just criterion whereby to judge of the fortunes of individuals; because, in the first, there is great uniformity,

every one, more or less, enjoying, exteriorly, the same easy circumstances, notwithstanding the disparity of real property; and in the second, considerable fiction prevails, many persons shipping under the same mark, and even when the shipper stands alone, he might have been provided with the necessary funds from the pious and charitable establishments, possibly, without risking a dollar of his own in the whole operation. Under circumstances so dubious, far from presuming to give a decided opinion on the subject, I am compelled to judge from mere conjectures, and guided only by the knowledge and experience I have been able to acquire during my long residence there. In conformity thereto, I am inclined to believe, that the total amount of capitals belonging to and employed in the trade of the Philippine Islands, does not at present exceed two millions and a half of dollars, with evident signs of rapid decline, if the merchants do not in time abandon the ruinous system of chiefly carrying on their speculations with money obtained at interest.

The two millions and a half of dollars thus attributed to the merchants, form, however, the smaller part of the funds distributed among the other classes, and the total amount of the circulating medium of the colony might be considered an object sufficiently worthy of being ascer-

tained, owing to the great light it would throw on the present state of the inhabitants; but it is in vain to attempt any calculation of the kind, at least without the aid of data possessing a certain degree of accuracy. The only thing that can be affirmed is, that during the period of more than 250 years which have evolved since the conquest, the ingress of specie into the Philippine Islands has been constant. Their annual ships have seldom come home from New Spain without bringing considerable sums in return, and if some of them have been lost, many others, without being confined to the one million of dollars, constituting the ordinary amount of the permit, have not unfrequently come back with triple that sum; for which reason there are ample grounds for judging the calculation correct, which states the total importation of dollars, during the whole of that long period of years, to be equal to 400 millions. It may further be observed that, as in the Sangley Mestizos, economy and avarice compete with intelligence and activity in accumulating wealth, and scattered, as they are, among the principal islands, and in possession of the best lands and the most lucrative business of the interior, there are ample motives for presuming that these industrious and sagacious people have gradually, although incessantly, amassed immense sums in specie; but it

would be impossible to point out their amount, distribution, or the secret places in which they are hoarded *.

PROPERTY BELONGING TO PIOUS AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.—The assemblage of pious legacies, temporalities, and other funds and property placed in the care of several administrative committees, for purposes as well religious as charitable, constitute the chief capital employed in external trade; and notwithstanding the failures, which from time to time occur, the subsequent accumulation of the enormous premiums obtained for funds laid out in maritime speculations, both in time of peace and war, not only, suffices to make up all losses of the above kind, but also to secure the punctual payment of such charitable pensions and other charges as are to be deducted from the respective profits of this species of stock. Its total amount, according to an official report made by order of the head committee of the sinking fund, in-

* Besides coin, the Philippines have among them small shells beautifully marked, called *sigayes*, which serve as money in their trade with Siam, Bengal and other parts of India, where they bear the name of *cowris*. The only money coined in the islands is from copper and iron, all the rest is brought from Spanish America. The gold dust obtained there does not pass through the mint.—TR.

cluding temporalities, and Queen Mary of Austria's endowment for the College of Las Marianas, together with other funds of the same kind, not comprehended in the decree of abolition, at the commencement of the year 1809, amounted to 2,470,390 dollars, in the manner stated in Table, N° V., and as the sea-risks of that and the following year were successful, and the outstanding amounts punctually recovered, the aggregate sum, arising out of the above description of property, may now be estimated at more than three millions. Of these funds three distributions are generally made; viz. one part is appropriated to the China risks, at from 12 to 18 per cent. premium, according to circumstances, and also those to Madras, Calcutta and Batavia, at from 16 to 22 per cent. The second, which generally is in the largest proportion, is employed in risks to Acapulco, at various premiums, from 27 to 45 per cent.; and the third is left in hand, as a kind of guarantee to the stability of the original endowments.

In the great exigencies of the Royal Treasury, experienced during the last years of the administration of Señor Soler, the royal decree of *Consolidacion* was extended to the Philippine Islands, under the pretext of guarding the funds belonging to public charities and religious endowments from sea-risks, the income of which,

when secured on good mortgages, does not generally exceed 5 per cent., many in Spain not yielding above 4; but the remarkable difference between this plan and the one above described, together with various other weighty reasons alleged by the administrators, caused the dreaded effect of this new regulation to be suspended, and whilst the head committee of Manilla were consulting their doubts and requesting fresh instructions from the court at home, orders came out not to make any alteration in measures relating to this description of property.

Accustomed, in their limited calculations, to identify the resources, offered by the funds belonging to this class of establishments, with the very existence of the colony, the needy merchants easily confound their personal with the general interest; and few stop to consider that the identical means of carrying on trade, without any capital of their own, although they have accidentally enriched a small number of persons, eventually have absorbed the principal profits, and possibly been the chief cause of the unflourishing state of the colony at large. Without fearing the charge of rashness, it may, in fact, be asserted, that if these charities and pious endowments had never existed, public prosperity in the Philippine Islands would, as in other parts, have been the immediate effect of the united efforts of

the individual members of the community and of the experience acquired in the constant prosecution of the same object. As, however, a progress of this kind, although certain, must necessarily have been at first extremely slow, and as, on the other hand, the preference given to mercantile operations undertaken with the funds belonging to public charities, has its origin in the assemblage of vices so remarkable in the very organization of the body of Philippine merchants, any new measure on this subject might be deemed inconsistent, that at once deprived them of the use of resources on which they had been accustomed to rely, without removing those other defects which excuse, if not encourage, the continuation of the present system. Without, therefore, appealing to violent remedies, it is to be hoped that, in order to render plans of reform effectual, it will be sufficient, under more propitious circumstances, to see property brought from other countries to these islands, as well as persons coming to settle in them, capable of managing it with that intelligence and economy required by trade. The competition of those who speculate at random would then cease, or what is the same, as money obtained at a premium, could not then be laid out with the same advantages by the merchants as if it was their own, it will be necessary to renounce the fal-

lacious profits held out by the public charities, till at least they are placed on a level with existing circumstances, and brought in to be of real service to the honourable planter and laborious merchant, in their accidental exigencies, ceasing to be, as hitherto, the indirect cause of idleness, dissipation, and the ruin of an infinite number of families.

MERCANTILE SHIPPING.—The vessels which the district magistrates of the provinces keep employed in carrying on trade with the capital, those belonging to some of the richer merchants, together with such as are owned by the natives and Mestizos, on an approximate calculation, amount to 12,000 tons, including ships, brigs, schooners, gallies, barges, &c. For the want of better data, this estimate is founded only on reasonable conjecture, aided by the advice of experienced persons, for although the greatest part of these vessels are built by the natives in the neighbourhood of their own towns, no register is kept of their number and dimensions, nor do they carry with them the usual certificates. Those belonging to the merchants, that is, ships and brigs of a certain size, have already began to frequent the ports of China, Java, the coast of Coromandel, Bengal, and the Isle of France, availing themselves of the lucrative freights which formerly enriched and encouraged

foreign shipping. The other class of vessels, although perfectly adequate to the coasting trade, cannot in general be applied to larger enterprises, on account of their not being sufficiently strong and capacious. The seamen are not registered, or as it is usually called, matriculated, but their frequent crossing from island to island, their familiarity with the regional tempests, voyages to various parts of America, and the occupation of fishing, followed by the inhabitants of the coast, serve to train up a large body of dexterous and able mariners, who at all times can be had, without any compulsion, to complete good crews*.

The want of a public school for the teaching of navigation, is however sensibly felt, as well as great inconvenience from the scarcity of per-

* Crawford, in his History of the Indian Archipelago, observes, that the sailors of the Philippines are so dexterous, that they are used, almost exclusively, in the other islands, as steersmen, and as such have a preference in many parts of the East. The natives are equally expert as fishermen, and prepare considerable quantities of salted, dried, and pickled fish. Among these is the *balato*, white and black, described as resembling sea-slugs, a food of a heating quality, of which three classes are prepared; the conger-eel; the *tollo*, a species of shark, dried in the sun, and by the Spaniards used as a substitute for tunny, and of which their homeward bound vessels lay in a large stock; dried crawfish, &c.—Tr.

sons capable of being trusted with the command of vessels, and the ignorance that prevails in the hydrography of this dangerous Archipelago. Repeated royal orders have been sent over for the board of trade to proceed to the institution of so useful an establishment, and in the mean time, a medium has been resorted to in order to supply the deficiency, by allowing the free admission of foreign mates, provided they exhibit proofs of their acquaintance with navigation, and profess the Catholic worship. Ship-owners nevertheless experience great difficulties, particularly at times when the Acapulco ship is fitting out, for although she is considered as a vessel of war, and commanded by officers of the royal navy, the plan of her equipment is so singular, that in addition, she requires the extra aid of one chief mate, and three under ones.

OF THE ROYAL PHILIPPINE COMPANY.—The various modifications this corporate body has successively experienced, have, in great measure, changed the essence of its primitive institution, and the remonstrances of its directors, founded on the experience of a long series of years, at length induced the government at home to sanction alterations dictated by existing circumstances. The project of raising these islands from the neglected state in which they were, and in some measure to place them in

contact with the mother country, accompanied by a wish to give a new and great impulse to the various branches of industry which constitute the importance of a colony, could not have been more laudable; but, as was afterwards seen, the instrument employed was not adequate to the object in view. At the same time that the company were charged to promote, and, by means of their funds, to vivify the agriculture and industry of these provinces, the necessary powers and facilities to enable them to reap the fruits of their sacrifices were withheld. The protection granted to this establishment, did not go beyond a general recommendation in favour of its enterprises, and, in short, far from enjoying the exclusive preponderance obtained at their commencement by all the other Asiatic companies, that of the Philippine Islands laboured under particular disadvantages.

Notwithstanding an organization so imperfect, scarcely had the agents of the new Company arrived at Manilla, when they distributed through the country their numerous dependents, commissioned to encourage the natives by advances of money. They established subaltern factories in the provinces of Ilocos, Bataan, Cavite, and Camarines; purchased lands; delivered out agricultural implements; founded manufactories of cotton cloths; contracted for the crops of pro-

duce at very high prices; offered rewards; in short, they put in motion every partial resource they were able to avail themselves of and their limited means allowed. It would be extremely easy for me, in this place, to enter into a particular enumeration of the important services of this kind rendered by the Company, and to exhibit, in the most evident point of view, the advantages thence derived to these islands, if, besides being slightly touched upon in the preceding articles, this task had not been already ably performed by the Factor, D. Juan Francisco Urroz, in his accurate report on this subject, addressed to the governing committee of the Company, in 1803. In justice I will nevertheless observe, that this establishment, anxiously resolved to attain the end proposed, and in spite of so many obstacles, constantly followed up its expensive system without being disheartened; nor did the contrarieties with which the Royal Audiencia, or High Court of Justice, frequently paralyzed its plans, the indifference of the governors, or the general opposition and jealousy of the other classes, in any way tend to relax its efforts, till at length, convinced of the impossibility of successfully contending, alone and without any other arms than its own reduced capital; and, on the other hand, well aware that a political body of this kind in vain seeks to

unite within itself the triple and opposite characters of agriculturalist, manufacturer, and merchant, a determination was taken to alter the plan, and withdraw the factories established in the provinces, and by adopting a rigid economy and confining the operations in future to the purchase of such produce and manufactured articles as suited their trade, and were voluntarily brought by the natives to their stores, the expences of the Company were curtailed, and a plan of reform introduced into all their speculations. By this means also they always secured an advantageous vent for the productions of the country, after having been the chief spring by which agriculture was promoted and encouraged in a direct manner.

The most beneficial reform, however, introduced by this establishment into its system, has, in reality, been derived from the variation or rather correction of its plans and enterprises, purely maritime. The government being desirous to increase the relations of this colony by every possible means, and to convert it into a common centre of all the operations of the new Company, at first required of the agents that the purchases and collection of goods from the coast of Coromandel, Bengal, and China, destined for Spain, should take place at Manilla, either by purchasing the articles in that market, or

through the medium of previous contracts to deliver them there. From this it is easy to infer, that the Company was infallibly exposed to the harsh terms the respective contractors sought to impose upon them, as well with regard to prices as qualities, unless, in many cases, they preferred being left without the necessary assortments. Hence may it, without the smallest exaggeration, be affirmed, that, summing up all the surcharges under which the shipments left the port of Manilla, and comparing them with those which might have been sent direct from the above mentioned points, and without so extraordinary a *detour* as the one prescribed by law, the difference that followed in the prime cost of the cargos was not less than 80 per cent. The urgent manner, however, in which the Directors of the Company did not cease to deplore and complain of so evident a hardship, at length had the desired effect, and after existing ten or twelve years, so preposterous a system was successfully overthrown, and permission obtained from the king for the establishment of Spanish factories in the neighbourhood of the China and India manufactures, as well as the power of addressing shipments direct to those foreign dominions. The enlightened policy of their respective governments did not allow them to hesitate in giving a favourable reception to

our factors and vessels, and the purchases and shipments of Asiatic goods being thus realized without the old obstructions, the Company was reasonably led to hope being able soon to increase its operations, and progressively present more satisfactory results to the share-holders, when those political convulsions succeeding soon after, which have unhinged or destroyed all the ordinary relations of trade, compelled them to abandon their hopes, till the wished-for calm should be again restored.

In consequence of the new character and route given to the commercial enterprises of the Company, as authorized by a royal decree of 12th July, 1803, the functions of the Manilla factors were reduced to the annual shipment of a cargo of Asiatic goods to Peru, valued at 500,000 dollars, but only as long as the war lasted, and till the expiration of the extraordinary permits granted through the goodness of the king, and also to the transmitting to China and Bengal of the specie brought from America, and the collecting in of certain quantities of indigo, sugar, or other produce of the islands, with a view to gain by reselling it in the same market. Consequently, the moment things return to their pacific and ordinary course, will be the period when the necessity of the future existence of this establishment will cease, or at least, when the

propriety will be evident of its reform or assimilation to the other commission houses, carrying on trade in Vera Cruz, Mexico, &c. which, not being hired establishments, do not create expences when they cease to transact business.

Against a measure of this kind it would be useless to allege, that "by the exclusive privilege to introduce spirits and European effects into the colony, the Company has contracted the obligation of always keeping it properly supplied; that their very institution had for its basis the general improvement of these islands, and that in order duly to comply with these duties, it becomes indispensably necessary to keep up the present expensive establishment;" for, in the first place, in order to render it incumbent on the company to introduce an indefinite quantity of European articles, it previously would be necessary to provide a vent for them, and this can never be the case, unless the exclusion of all competitors in the market is rigorously carried into effect. As things now are, the North Americans, English, French, and every other nation that wishes, openly usurp this privilege, by constantly inundating the islands with spirits and all kinds of effects, and it is very evident that this same abuse which authorizes the infraction of the above privilege, if in that light it could in any way be considered, totally ex-

onerates the Company from all obligations by them contracted under a different understanding. Besides, the circumstances which have taken place since the first publication of the royal decree, creating the above establishment into a corporate body, in the year 1785, have entirely changed the order established in this respect. In the first place, the port of Manilla has been opened to foreign nations, in consequence of the disinterested representations of the Company itself, and for the direct advantage of general trade; nor was it easy to prevent our new guests from abusing the facilities thus granted to them, and much less to confine them to the mere introduction of Asiatic goods, the original plea made use of. In the second, as soon as the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands became familiar with the more useful and elegant objects of convenience and luxury, which they were enabled to purchase from foreigners, at reasonable prices, it was natural for them to pay little regard to the superfluous aid of the Company, more particularly when the latter were no longer able to sustain the competition, either in the sale or supplies of a multitude of articles, which, thanks to our own national simplicity, are scarcely known in Spain, whence their outward-bound cargos are derived. Hence it follows that, far from the importations and

supplies of the Company being missed, it may with great reason be presumed, that this formal renunciation of this ideal privilege of theirs, must rather have contributed to secure, in a permanent manner, adequate supplies for all the wants and whims of the inhabitants of the colony; and that the publicity of such a determination would act as a fresh allurement successively to bring to the port of Manilla a host of foreign speculators, anxious to avail themselves of a fresh opening for commercial pursuits.

The other objection, founded on the mistaken notion of its being inherent in, and belonging to, the very essence of the Company, to promote the general improvement of the Philippine Islands, if well considered, will appear equally unjust. It is, in fact, a ridiculous, although too generally received, a prejudice to suppose, that the founders of this establishment proposed to themselves the plan of sinking the money of the share-holders in clearing the lands, and perfecting the rude manufactures of these distant islands. To imagine this to have been one of the principal objects of the institution, or to suppose that, on this hard condition, their various privileges and exemptions were granted to them, is so far from the reality of the fact, that it would only be necessary to read with attention the 26th Article of the above quoted royal de-

cree of creation, in order more correctly to comprehend the origin and constitutive system of this political body.

"The latter," says the Duke de Almodovar, "is reduced to two principal points; the first of which is the carrying on and union of the trade of Asia with that of America and Europe; and the second, the encouragement and improvement of the productions and manufacturing industry of the islands. The one is the essential attribute of the Company, constituting its real character of a mercantile society; and, in the other respect, it becomes an auxiliary of the government, to whom the duties alluded to more immediately belong." If to the above we add the preamble of the 43d article of the new decree of 1803, the recommendation, made to the Company, to contribute to the prosperity of the agriculture and manufacturing industry of the islands, will appear as a limited and secondary consideration; for even if the question were carried to extremes, it could never extend to any more than the application of four per cent. of the annual profits of the Company indistinctly to both branches*. If, however, any doubts still remained, the explanation or solution recently

* The following is a literal translation of the 50th clause of the original charter, to which allusion is here made.—Tr.

given to this question, would certainly remove them; because, by the simple fact of its being expressed in the latter part of the aforesaid 43d article, "That the above-mentioned four per cent. was to be laid out, with the king's approbation, in behalf of the agriculture and manufacturing industry of *Spain* and the Philippine Islands," it is clear that the king reserves and appropriates to himself the investment of the amount to be deducted from the general dividends, in order to apply it where and how may be deemed most advisable. Consequently, far from considering the Company in that respect

---

"All these grants, privileges, and exemptions, so advantageous to the Company, and the large interest also I have taken in its shares, have had for object the general good of my beloved subjects, as well as the improvement of the agriculture and manufacturing industry of the Philippine Islands. And, as the prosperity of the latter is beneficial to the commerce of Spain, and their progress is intimately connected with that of the Company, whose profits will be greater in proportion as the produce and arts of those my dominions are increased; I declare, that I have granted to the said Company the privileges contained in the preceding clauses, on the requisite condition of applying four per cent. of their annual profits, through their own agents, to the improvement of the Philippines, in the two branches of agriculture and manufacturing industry; and that for this purpose the committee, formed in Manilla, shall give the necessary advice and information to the Board of Directors, &c."

under an obligation to contribute to the improvement of the Philippines exclusively, the only thing that can be required of them, when their charter is withdrawn, is, the repayment to the royal treasury of the four per cent. on their profits, for a purpose so vaguely defined. In following up this same train of argument, it would seem that, in order to render the amount to be deducted from the eventual profits of the Company, in the course of time, a productive capital in the hands of the sovereign, the funds of the society not only ought not to be diverted to the continuation of projects which consume them, but, on the contrary, it is necessary to place at their disposal the direct means by which these funds can be increased, in order to make up to the Company in some measure the enormous losses experienced of late years, and at once free their commerce from the shackles with which it has hitherto been obstructed.

Finally, after twenty-four years of impotent and gratuitous efforts in the Philippines, and of the most obstinate opposition on the part of their rivals, it is now time for the Company, by giving up the ungrateful struggle, to reform in every respect their expensive establishment in Manilla, and to direct their principal endeavours to carry into effect the project so imperfectly traced out in the new decree of 1803. The opinion of the

most vehement enemies of privileged bodies tacitly approves this exception in their favour: Adam Smith, avowedly hostile to all monopolies, feels himself compelled to confess that, "without the incentives which exclusive companies offer to the individuals of a nation carrying on little trade, possibly their confined capitals would cease to be destined to the remote and uncertain enterprises which constitute a commerce with the East Indies."

Our commerce, compared with that of other nations, notwithstanding what may be said on this subject, is most assuredly yet in a state of infancy. That with Asia, more especially, with the exception of the Royal Company, is almost unknown to all other classes. If it is, therefore, wished to exclude our many rivals from so lucrative a branch of trade as that which constitutes supplies for the consumption of the Peninsula and its dependencies, the means are obvious. The most material part is in fact already done. The navigation to the various ports of Asia is familiar to the Company's navy; their factors and clerks have acquired a practical knowledge of that species of trade, essential to the undertaking, as well as such information as was at first unknown; but, after the great misfortunes this body has experienced, it will be indispensably necessary to aid and invigorate

them with large supplies of money, following the example of other governments in similar cases; in order that the successful issue of their future operations may compensate their past losses, and worthily correspond with the magnitude of the object*.

---

* The royal charter by which the Philippine Company was created into a corporate body, was signed by Charles III. on 10th March, 1785, and countersigned by D. Jose Galvez, his minister. It consists of 100 clauses, containing the motives, nature, and privileges of the establishment. The original project was formed by Philip V. "in consideration of the advantageous situation of the Philippine Islands for the commerce of Asia, in which so many other nations of Europe had prospered," and in conformity thereto, a royal decree was issued in Seville, on the 29th of March, 1733. Subsequent wars and other causes at the time prevented the realization of the plan, which was taken up by Philip's son and successor. The Guipuscoa Company of Caracas were the first to second the plan, by resolving, in 1778, that part of their funds should be appropriated to this purpose. This royal Company was instituted for 25 years, ending in 1810, but the charter was susceptible of being renewed. The capital was eight millions of single dollars, divided into 32,000 shares, of 250 dollars each, and sufficient time was allowed for subscriptions in America and the Philippine Islands. The king subscribed one million of hard dollars, and invited the bank of San Carlos, and other corporate bodies in his dominions, to follow his example; and the Caracas Company was also incorporated in the new establishment, all their property and effects being taken at an estimate. The arms of Manilla were made those

of the Company, and used on their seals, &c. The basis of the establishment was an exclusive right to trade with the Philippines and other parts of Asia, and import into Spain the produce and effects of those countries. The Company were also allowed to trade to America, though not exclusively, but under certain restrictions. Manilla was declared a free port for all Asiatic nations, and all national goods shipped there from Spain and America, freed from export duties, in favour of the Company. A governing committee was elected in Madrid, consisting of twelve directors, of which the minister of the Indies, for the time being, was made president.—Tr.

CHAP. IV.

Of the public Revenue.—Revenue arising out of the Crown Monopolies of Tobacco.—Of the Coco and Nipa, or Palm Wine.—Royal Custom-House.—Import and Export Duties.—Monopoly of the Bonga, or Areca-Nut.

PUBLIC REVENUE.—This Asiatic colony, although considered as conferring great lustre on the crown and name of our monarch, by exhibiting the vast extent of the limits of his dominions, has in reality been, during a long series of years, a true burden to the government, or at least, a possession whose chief advantages have redounded in favour of other powers, rivals of our maritime importance. Notwithstanding all that has been said on the score of real utility, certain it is, that the Philippine establishment has cost the treasury large sums of money; although, within the last twenty-five or thirty years, it must be confessed that the public revenue has experienced a considerable increase, and, of itself, has become an object of some consequence to the state.

Among the various causes which have contri-

buted to produce so favourable an alteration, the chief ones have been the establishment of the tobacco-monopoly, on behalf of the crown, and the opening of the port of Manilla to the flag of other nations, at peace with Spain. The first has considerably increased the entries into the public treasury, and the second has tended to multiply the general mass of mercantile operations, independent of the other beneficial effects this last measure must have produced in a country, whose resources, trade and consumption had, from the time of the conquest, experienced the fatal shackles imposed by jealousy and ignorance.

The improved aspect the colony soon assumed, by the introduction of this new system, as was natural, awakened the attention of ministers, and induced them more easily to consent to the measures subsequently proposed to them, principally intended to place those distant dominions on a footing of permanent security, so as to enable them to repel any fresh attempts on the part of an enemy. As, however, the productions of the country increased, the public expences also became greater, although always in a much smaller proportion, with the exception of the interval between the years 1797 and 1802, when the government, fearful of a second invasion, was compelled, at its own expense, to provide

against the danger with which these islands were then threatened. If, therefore, as appears from the official reports of the treasurer-general, Larzabal, in my possession, the receipts at the treasury, in 1780, amounted only to 700,000 dollars, including the *situado**, or annual allowance for the expenses of government sent from New Spain, and after the ordinary charges of administration had been paid, a surplus of 170,000 dollars remained in the hands of the treasurer; at present we have the satisfaction to find that the revenue is equal to 2,625,176 dollars, 4 rials,

---

* The *situados*, or yearly allowances, which Mexico was obliged to furnish, for the support of other parts of the king's dominions, were in the following proportions: viz.

Floridas	151,000
Puerto Rico	377,000
Philippine Islands	250,000
Louisiana	557,000
Island of Trinidad	200,000
Spanish part of St. Domingo	274,000
Total Dollars	3,635,000

These allowances were increased according to exigencies; but, of late years, they have nearly all been dispensed with, owing to several of the countries having fallen into other hands, and because the various insurrections which have taken place in New Spain, since 1810, have been so expensive, that, after supplying his own wants, the viceroy has had no surplus revenue to dispose of.—Tr.

and the expenses do not exceed 2,179,731 dollars, 7 rials; by which means an annual surplus of 445,444 dollars, 5 rials, is left, applicable to the payment of the debt contracted during the extraordinary period above mentioned, now reduced to about 900,000 dollars, and afterwards transferable to the general funds belonging to the crown.

This sketch of the prosperous state to which the revenue of the Philippine Islands has been raised, within the few last years, is not less exact than it is flattering; as I shall now proceed minutely to demonstrate, by giving an idea of the nature and importance of each of the principal branches constituting the same. I am the more induced to enter on this task, from considering each article as deserving of being noticed in a separate manner, and also because an inquiry of this kind tends indirectly to convey true notions of the greater or lesser degree of opulence the inhabitants are capable of attaining, and also of the general progress they have already been enabled to make in the social state. In order, therefore, that a more complete idea may be formed of the principal, as well as secondary, branches which do not require a particular explanation, I shall collect and give a full view of all in Table, N°. VI. which, besides serving as authority for my own remarks, will furnish the

reader with general results, who does not feel inclined to enter into details.

With regard to the administrative system, it is in every respect similar to the one observed in our governments of America, with this difference only, that, in the Philippine Islands, greater economy prevails in salaries, as well as in the number of persons employed. In former times, the establishment of intendancies, or boards of administration, was deemed expedient in Manilla, Ilocos, Camarines, Iloylo, and Zebu; but they were soon afterwards reformed, or rather laid aside, on account of their being deemed superfluous*. I would not venture to state the grounds on which this opinion was then formed; but, as the sphere in which the king's revenue acts in these islands increases and extends, which naturally will be the case if the plans and improvements dictated by the present favourable circumstances are carried into effect, I do not hesitate to say that it will be necessary

* During the administration of Lope Garcia de Castro, who governed in Peru from the year 1569 to 1581, subaltern judges, under the title of *corregidores*, were established in each of the provinces, a system created in order that the distant inhabitants might find more immediate redress by judges being placed among them, without the trouble of resorting to the capital. In the course of time, these judges became possessed of the power of what were called the *repartimientos*, or the division and allotment of the Indians into a kind of fiefs, a plan re-

again to appeal to the establishment of a greater number of Boards for the management and collection of the various branches of the revenue, whether they are called Intendancies, or by any other name; as it will be extremely difficult for the administration to do its duty, on the confined and inadequate plan under which it is at present organized. Under its existing form, it is constituted in the following manner. The Governor of the islands, in his quality of Superintendant or Administrator General, and as uniting in himself the powers of Intendant of the Army, presides at the Board of Administration of the king's revenue, which is placed in the immediate charge of a treasurer and two

---

commended by the laws of the Indies, in order that the unlettered natives might receive instruction and protection from the Spaniards settled among them. By this means, however, the authority of these district judges was rendered extremely despotic, and a system, originally suggested from motives of humanity became liable to the grossest abuses. In 1784, the administration of Peru underwent a new reform, the dignity of Viceroy was suspended, but soon afterwards restored on the same plan, when the seventy-seven *corregimientos*, or district governments formed of the subaltern judges above alluded to, being the whole left in the Viceroyalty after the dismemberments which then took place, were reduced into seven Intendancies, comprehending, in all, fifty-three *partidos* or districts, and in each an Intendant was placed, for the purposes of civil government, and this form still continues in Peru and Mexico.—Tr.

clerks. The principal branches have their respective general Directors, on whom the provincial Administrators depend, and the civil magistrates, in the quality of sub-delegates, collect within their respective districts, the tributes paid by the natives in money and produce, and manage every thing else relating to the king's revenue. In ordinary cases, the general laws of the Indies govern, and especially the ordinances or regulations of the Intendants of New Spain, ordered to be observed in the Philippines. It ought further to be observed, that, in these islands, the same as in all the viceroyalties and governments of America, there is a distinct body of royal decrees in force, which, in themselves, constitute a code of considerable size.

TOBACCO MONOPOLY.—The project of converting the consumption of tobacco into a monopoly, met with a most obstinate resistance on the part of the inhabitants, and the greatest circumspection and constancy were necessary for the governor, D. Jose Basco, to carry this arduous enterprise into effect*. Accustomed to the cul-

* The planting and growth of tobacco were free in all South America till the year 1752, when it was converted into a monopoly on behalf of the crown. In 1780 playing cards were put under the same restrictions, and in 1782, stamps were issued on account of government, and in the following year, gunpowder was added to the monopoly.—TR.

tivation of this plant, without any restriction whatever, and habituated to its use from their infancy, it appeared to the people the extreme of rashness to seek simultaneously to extirpate it from the face of the greatest part of the island of Luzon, in order to confine its culture within the narrow limits of a particular district. They were equally revolted at the idea of giving to a common article a high and arbitrary value, when besides, it had become one of the first necessity. Every circumstance, however, being dispassionately considered, and the principle once admitted that it was expedient for the colony to maintain itself by means the least burdensome to the inhabitants, it certainly must be acknowledged that, although odious on account of its novelty and defective in the mode of its execution, a resource more productive and at the same time less injurious, could not have been devised. Hence was it that the partisans of the opposite system were strangely misled, by founding their calculations on false data, when they alleged that a substitute, equivalent to the increased revenue supposed to arise out of the monopoly of tobacco, might have been resorted to, by ordering a proportionate rise in the branch of tributes. In fact, no one who has had the least experience in matters of this kind, can be ignorant of the open repugnance the natives have always evinced

to the payment of the ordinary capitation-tax, and the broils to which its collection has given rise. Besides, if well examined, no theory is more defective and more oppressive on account of the disparity with which it operates, than this same wrongly boasted impost; for, however desirous it may be to simplify the method of collecting the general revenue of a state, if the best plan is to be adopted, that is, if public burdens are to be rendered the least obnoxious, it is necessary preferably to embrace the system of indirect contributions, in which class, to a certain degree, the monopoly of all those articles may be considered as included, which are not rigorously of the first necessity, and only compel the individual to contribute, when his own will induces him to become a consumer.

Let this be as it may, certain it is, that to Govêrnor Basco we are indebted for having doubled the annual amount of the revenue of these islands, by merely rendering the consumption of tobacco subservient to the wants of the crown. It was he who placed these islands in the comfortable situation of being able to subsist, without being dependent on external supplies of money to meet the exigencies of government. It ought, however, to be remarked that, although they have been in the habit of receiving the annual allowance of 250,000 dollars, for which

a standing credit was opened by the government at home on the general treasury of New Spain, considerable sums have, nevertheless, on various occasions, been remitted from the Philippines to Spain, through the channel of the Captain-General, as may be seen by Table VII., exhibiting the total amount of the proceeds and expenditure of the branch of tobacco, from the year 1782, the period when it was established into a monopoly. If these remittances have been suspended for some years past, it has evidently been owing to the imperious necessity of applying the ordinary proceeds of the revenue, as well as other extraordinary means, to unforeseen contingencies arising out of peculiar circumstances.

The planting and cultivation of tobacco are now confined to the district of Gapan, in the province of La Pampanga, to that of Cagayan, and to the small island of Marinduque. The amount of the crops raised in the above three points and sold to the king, may, on an average, be estimated at 50,000 bales, grown in the following proportion—Gapan, 47,000 bales; Cagayan, 2, and Marinduque, 1. This stock, resold at the monopoly prices, yields a sum equal to about one million of dollars, and deducting therefrom the prime cost and all other expenses, legally chargeable on this branch, the nett proceeds in favour of the revenue amount to 550,000 dollars, or upwards of 122 per cent. This profit

is so much the more secure, as it rests on the positive fact that, however great the quantity of the article sold furtively and by evading the vigilance of the guards, as the demand and consumption are excessive and always exceed the stock on hand, a ready sale cannot fail to be had for all the stock placed in the hands of the agents of the monopoly*. From this it may also be inferred how much the nett proceeds of this branch would be increased, if without venturing too far in extending the plantations and consequent purchases, care was taken to render the supplies more proportionate to the consumption; for, by a clear profit of 122 per cent. falling on a larger capital, it follows that a corresponding result would be obtained. In a word, the sales, far from declining or being in any way deemed precarious, are susceptible of a great increase, consequently, this branch of revenue merits the

* The nett revenue derived from the tobacco-monopoly in New Spain, was equal to 3,993,834, in 1801, and in the following year, to 4,092,629 dollars, of which the prime cost paid the planters, in the dearest season, did not exceed 626,319 dollars. The total sales in both years exceeded 7½ millions of dollars. The tobacco is chiefly made into segars, on account of the revenue, and the great manufactory of Queretaro affords employment to upwards of 3000 persons, two-thirds of whom are women. The greatest part of the segars are enveloped with paper, supplied from Spain, no other quality serving for this purpose. The Queretaro manufactory consumes 130 reams per day.—Tr.

serious attention of government beyond all others.

It is, however, to be lamented that, instead of every facility being given to the sale of tobacco and the consumption thus encouraged, the public meet with great difficulties and experience such frequent obstacles and deficiencies in the supplies, that with truth it may almost be said, the sales are effected in spite of the administrators themselves. In the capital alone it is a generally received opinion that a third part more would there be consumed, if, instead of compelling the purchaser to receive the tobacco already manufactured or folded, he was allowed to take it from the stores in its primitive state; and if the minor establishments in the provinces were constantly supplied with good qualities, an infinitely larger quantity might be sold, and by this means a great deal of smuggling also prevented. Such, however, is the neglect and irregularity in this department, that it frequently happens in towns, somewhat distant from Manilla, no other tobacco is to be met with than what the smugglers sell, and if, perchance, any is to be found in the monopoly-stores, it is usually of the worst quality that can be imagined.

I pass over, in silence, the other defects gradually introduced, as evils, in a greater or lesser degree, inseparable from this part of public ad-

ministration in every country in which it has been deemed necessary to establish monopolies; but I cannot refrain from again insisting on the urgency with which those in power ought to devote themselves, firmly and diligently, to the destruction of abuses which have hitherto paralyzed the progress of the branch in question, because I am well persuaded, that whenever corresponding means are adopted, it will be possible in a short time to double the proceeds. What these means are, it is not easy, nor indeed essential, to particularize in a rapid sketch, like this, of the leading features and present state of the Philippine Islands. I shall, therefore, merely remark, that it will be in vain to wish the persons engaged in the management of this department, to exert their zeal and sincerely cooperate in the views of government, as long as they are not placed beyond the necessity of following other pursuits and gaining a livelihood in another way: in a word, unless they have a salary assigned them, corresponding to the confidence and value of the important object entrusted to their charge, no plan of reform can be rendered efficient.

At the same time steps are taken to augment the revenue, arising out of tobacco, it would be desirable, as much as possible, to improve the method used with regard to those who gather in

the crops, by endeavouring to relieve them from the heavy conditions imposed upon them; conditions which, besides exposing them to the odious effects of revenue-laws, by their very nature bring upon them many unpleasant consequences, and often total ruin. In order that a correct opinion may be formed of these defects, it will suffice to observe that, under pretext of preventing smuggling, the guards and their agents watch, visit, and, if I may use the expression, live among the plantations from the moment the tobacco-seedlings appear above ground, till the crops are gathered in. After compelling the Indian planter to cut off the head of the stem, in order that the plant may not become too luxuriant, the surveyors then proceed to set down, not only the number of plants cultivated on each estate, but even the very leaves of each, distinguishing their six different qualities, in order to call the farmers to account, respectively, when they make a defective delivery into the general stores. In the latter case, they are compelled to prove the death of the plants and even to account for the leaves missing when counted over again, under the penalty of being exposed to the rigour of the revenue laws.

It cannot indeed be denied that by this means two important objects are attained, at one and the same time; the one, the gradual improve-

ment of the tobacco, and the other, the greater difficulty of secreting the article; but, on the other hand, how great are the inconveniencies incurred? Independent of the singularity and consequent oppression of a regulation of this kind, as well as its too great minuteness and complication, it is attended with very considerable expences, and renders it necessary to keep on foot a whole army of guards and clerks, who tyrannize over and harass the people without any real motive for such great scrupulosity and profusion. I make this observation, because I cannot help thinking, that the same results might nearly be obtained, by adopting a more simple and better regulated system. I am not exactly aware of the one followed in the island of Cuba, but as far as I understand the matter, it is simply reduced to this; the growers there merely present their bales to the inspectors, and if pronounced to be sound and good, the stipulated amount is paid over to them; but if the quality is bad, the whole is unavoidably burnt. Thus all sales, detrimental to the public revenue, are prevented, and I do not see why the same steps could not be taken in the Philippine Islands. It must not, however, be understood, that I presume to speak in a decisive tone on a subject so extremely delicate, and that requires great practical information, which, I readily acknowledge,

I do not possess. I merely wish by means of these slight hints, to contribute to the commencement of a reform in abuses, and to promote the adoption of a plan that may have for basis the relief of the growers, and at the same time advance the prosperity of this part of the royal revenue*.

---

* On this subject, Humboldt, *Essai Politique, liv.* iv. *chap.* x. makes the following remarks.—Tr.

"The cultivation of Mexican tobacco might become a branch of agriculture of the highest importance, if the trade in this article was free; but since the introduction of the monopoly on the part of the crown, not only a special permission is necessary for planting of tobacco; not only the grower is compelled to deliver it into the monopoly-stores, at the price arbitrarily fixed by the Directors, according to the goodness of the article; but the cultivation is restricted to the vicinity only of Orizava and Cordova, and to the districts of Huatusco de Songolica, situated in the Intendancy of Vera Cruz. Clerks, bearing the title of *guardas de tabaco,* scour the country, in order to root up the tobacco planted out of the districts above named, and to fine the farmers who have dared to grow what is necessary for their own consumption. It has been thought that the contraband would be diminished, by confining the cultivation to an extent of country of four or five square leagues. Before the establishment of the monopoly, the Intendancy of Guadalaxara, more particularly the districts of Antlan, Ezatlan, Ahuxcatlan, Tepic, Santixpac and Acapoueta, were celebrated for the abundance and excellent quality of the tobacco they produced. These countries, once

Monopoly of *Coco* and *Nipa*, or Palm, Wine. —This branch of public revenue is of sufficient magnitude to merit the second place among the resources rendered available to the expenditure of these islands. Established into a monopoly some years ago, in like manner as the consumption of tobacco, it has experienced several changes in its plan of administration, this being at one time carried on on account of the king, at others, by the privilege being let out at auction; till at length the Board of Control, convinced of the great profits gained by the contractors, resolved at once to take the direction of this department under their own charge, and make arrangements for its better administration. Having with this view established general deposits and licensed houses for the sale of country wine, with proper superintending clerks, they soon began to reap the fruits of so judicious a determination. In 1780, the privilege of selling the *coco* and *nipa* wine was farmed out to the highest bidder, for no more than 45,200 dollars, and subsequently the increase has been so great, owing to the improvements adopted, that at present nett

---

so happy and flourishing, have decreased in population, since the plantation was transferred to the eastern slope of the Cordillera."

proceeds, equal to 200,000 dollars, on an average, may be relied upon. In proof of this, the proceeds of this branch, in the year 1809, may be quoted, when the total balances received at the Treasury, after all expences had been paid, amounted to 221,426 dollars, in the following manner.

Administration of Manilla and district	201,250
Id. of La Pampanga and district -	12,294
Id. of Pangasinan and district -	7,882
Dollars	221,426

The prime cost and other expences that year amounted to no more than 168,557 dollars, by which means, on the whole operation, a nett profit of 131¼ per cent. resulted in favour of the Treasury.

The monopoly of country wine comprehends the whole of the island of Luzon, excepting the provinces of Cagayan, Zambales, New Ecija, Camarines and Albay, and is under the direction of three administrators, who act independently of each other in their respective districts, and have at their disposal a competent number of guards. These administrators receive in the licensed establishments the *coco* and *nipa* wines, at prices stipulated with the growers. That of the *coco* is paid for at the rate of two dollars per

jar, containing twenty *gantas*, equal to twelve *arrobas*, seven *azumbres* and half a *quartillo*, Castilian measure *, and at fourteen rials in the places nearest the depots. The *nipa* wine is laid in at 6½ rials the jar, indistinctly; prices which, although extremely low, are still considered advantageous by the Indians themselves, more particularly when it is besides understood, that, from the circumstance of their being growers of this article, they are exempted from military service, as well as several other taxes and public charges.

The *coco*-wine is a weak spirit, obtained in the following manner †. The tree that produces this

---

* *Ganta* is a local measure, and in Castile the *arroba* is equal to 25 lbs. weight; the *azumbre* is equal to ⅛ of an *arroba*, and the *quartillo* ¼ of an *azumbre*, in wet measure, and of a *celemin* in grain, &c.—Tr.

† This must mean the *gomuti* palm, described by Crawfurd in his Indian Archipelago, vol. I. in the following manner.—Tr.

" One of the most useful and abundant of all the palms, is the *sagwire* or *gomuti* (*borassus gomutus*). This affords the principal supply of that saccharine liquor which is used so much by the natives as a beverage, or for the extraction of sugar. The *gomuti* is the thickest of all the palms, but shorter on that account. It is readily distinguished from all the other palms by its rude and wild aspect. The fruits, which are about the size of a medlar, and of a triangular form, grow from the shoots of fructification, on long strings of three or

fruit is crowned by an assemblage of large flowers or *corollas*, from the centre or calix of which issues a fleshy stem, filled with juice. The In-

---

four feet. The fruit is in such abundance, that the quantity depending from a single shoot is more than a load for a man. The fleshy outer covering of the fruit is of a poisonous quality, or at least, affords a juice of a highly stimulating and corrosive nature, which, when applied to the skin, occasions great pain and inflammation. The inhabitants of the Moluccas were in the practice of using, in their wars, in the defence of posts, a liquor afforded by the maceration of the fruit of the *gomuti*, which the Dutch appropriately denominated *hell water*. The principal production of this palm is the *toddy*, which is procured in the same manner as from other palms, or in the following mode: one of the *spathæ* or shoots of fructification is, on the first appearance of fruit, beaten for three successive days with a small stick, with a view of determining the sap to the wounded part. The shoot is then cut off, a little way from the root, and the liquor which pours out is received in pots of earthenware—in bamboos—or other vessels. The *gomuti* palm is fit to yield *toddy* at nine or ten years old, and continues to yield it for two years at the average rate of three quarts a day. When newly drawn, the liquor is clear, and in taste resembles fresh must. In a very short time it becomes turbid, whitish and somewhat acrid, and quickly runs into the vinous fermentation, acquiring an intoxicating quality. A still larger quantity is immediately applied to the purpose of yielding sugar. With this view, the liquor is boiled to a syrup, and thrown out to cool in small vessels, the form of which it takes, and in this shape it is sold in the markets. The sugar is of a dark colour and greasy con-

dian cuts the extremity of this stem, and inclining the remainder in a lateral manner, introduces it into a large hollow tube which remains suspended, and is found full of sweet and sticky liquor, which the tree in this manner yields twice in every twenty-four hours. This liquid, called *tuba*, in the language of the country, is allowed to ferment for eight days in a large vessel, and afterwards distilled by the Indians in their uncouth stills, which are no other than large boilers, with a head made of lead or tin, rendered tight by means of clay, and with a pipe frequently made out of a simple cane, which conveys the spirit to the receiving vessels, without passing, like the serpentine tube used in ordinary stills, through the cooling vats, which so greatly tends to correct the vices of a too quick evaporation. The *tuba*, obtained in level and hot situations, is much more spirituous than that produced in cold and shady places. In the first, six jars of juice are sufficient to yield one of spirit, and in the latter, as many as eight are requisite; a much greater number, however, would be wanted to rectify this spirit so as to render it

---

sistence, with a peculiar flavour. It is the only sugar used by the native population (meaning of Java). The wine of this palm is also used by the Chinese residing in the Indian Islands in the preparation of the celebrated Batavian arrack."

equal to what is usually known by Hollands proof. I am not positively certain what degree of strength the *coco* brandy, or as it is usually called *coco* wine, possesses, but it is evidently inferior to the weakest made in Spain from the juice of the grape. The only circumstance required for it to be approved of, and received into the monopoly-stores, is its being easily ignited by the application of a lighted candle*.

The *nipa* is a small tree of the class of palms, which grows in a very bushy form, and multiplies and prospers greatly on the margins of rivers and watery tracts of land †. The *tuba*, or

---

* The *cabo negro*, as it is called by the Spaniards, is also obtained from the *gomuti*, and resembles black horse hair. It is found between the trunk and branches, in a matted form, interspersed with black twigs. When separated from the latter, it is manufactured into a cordage of a cheap and durable nature, chiefly used for cables and standing rigging. A single palm in its life-time yields two crops of this material, each amounting to about 9 lbs. The twigs are used as writing pens, and also as arrows. Under the hair-like material a soft substance is besides collected, used as oakum for caulking, and as such exported to China.—Tr.

† The following is the description given of this palm by Crawfurd, vol. I.—Tr.

"The *Nipah* is a low palm, the trunk of which never exceeds a man's height. It is the inhabitant of low marshy situations. Like other palms it yields a wine by the usual process, and in some parts of the Archipelago, particularly in the

juice, is extracted from the tree whilst in its flowering state, in the same way as that of the *coco*, and afterwards distilled by a similar process; but it is more spirituous, from six to six and a half jars being sufficient to yield one of wine. The great difference remarked in the prices of these two species of liquor, arises out of the greater number of uses to which the fruit of the *cocal* or *coco* tree is applicable, and the increase of expence and labour requisite to obtain the juice, owing to the great height of the plant, and the frequent dangers to which the *caritanes*, or gatherers, are exposed in passing from one tree to another, which they do by sliding along a simple cane *.

Philippines, it is cultivated for this purpose. Its principal use, however, is for the leaf, usually called *Atap*, the common term for thatch among the Malays, specifically applied to the leaves of this palm, because, among that people, it is almost the only material used for that purpose. The *Nipah* leaf is also used for the fabrication of coarse mats. The small, insipid pulpy kernels are sometimes preserved as sweetmeats.

* Nature has been extremely provident to man in the southern hemisphere. On the Andes mountains, where poisons abound, the antidote is always met with. On their declivities, where the tertian fever is endemic, the febrifuge is particularly placed; whilst on the coasts where the dysentery marks the climate, the *simaruba*, epicacuana, and other tonics are found. In the parched regions of the southern coast, for

The impost on, or rather monopoly of country wine, is in itself little burdensome to the community, as it only falls on the lower and most dissipated orders in society, and for this reason it is not susceptible of the same increase as that of tobacco, of which the use is more general, and now become an object of the first necessity. The Indian of the Philippine Islands is, by nature, so sober, that the spectacle of a drunken man is seldom noticed in the streets;

---

the convenience of the exhausted traveller, the *calo* or Guayaquil cane raises its refreshing form, and serves even to allay the thirst of cattle. This remarkable plant is high, thick, and the hollow partitions of the cane, as the moon increases, are filled with a clear and good water. At the full of the moon, even the smallest of the upper branches are filled with fluid, though at the wane found only in the trunk, whence it is extracted by a bore, and in these tubes or natural divisions of the cane carried to the distant workmen. The *utricularia* of the Philippine Islands is a plant of this kind. It is a tree from the joints of which issues a tendril like that of a vine, at the extremity of which is placed a small receiver, resembling a cruet with a neck, and on the top is placed a valve, which serves the place of a stopper. The receiver always stands erect, and is filled with a sweet and pleasant water, except at certain hours, when the valve naturally rises, to give room for evaporation, otherwise the repletion could not take place. The contents of four or six of these little vessels are sufficient to quench the thirst of one person. This plant is found in the province of Bisayas, in the island of Luzon.—Tr.

and in the capital, where the most corrupt classes of them reside, it is admirable to see the general abstinence from a vice that degrades the human species. The consumption of the *coco* and *nipa* wine is, nevertheless, considerable, which takes place in all their festivities, cock-fights, games, marriages, &c.; wherefore, if any scheme is devised to augment the annual sale of these liquors, none could be more efficient than to increase the number of their festive meetings, and seek pretexts to encourage public diversions, if, on the other hand, this were not contrary to the well-regulated order of society, and the duties of those who are intrusted with its superintendence.

I am still of opinion that, without resting the prosperity of this branch of the public revenue on principles, possessed of so immoral a tendency, it might be rendered more productive to the treasury, if the monopoly could be introduced into the other districts, adapted to its establishment. By this I mean to say that, as hitherto the monopoly has been partial, and enforced more in the way of a trial than in a general and permanent manner, much remains to be done, and consequently great scope is left for improvement in this department of the public revenue. This most assuredly may be attained, if all the local circumstances and impediments, more or

less superable, which the matter itself presents, are only taken into due account, and proper exertions made to study and discover the various indirect means of increasing the total mass of contributions, by applying a system more productive and analogous to the nature of the Philippine Islands. With regard to the revenue of the two particular articles above treated on, I merely wish to give to understand that, far from introducing by means of the monopoly, a new vice into the provinces in which I recommend its establishment, it would rather act, in a certain degree at least, as a corrective to pre-existing evils, and the government would derive advantages from an article of luxury, by subjecting its consumption to the same shackles under which it stands in the other provinces, where its administration is established and carried on for account of the royal Treasury.

ROYAL CUSTOM HOUSE.—In former times, when only vessels belonging to the Asiatic nations visited the port of Manilla, with effects from the coast of Coromandel, or the China junks*, and now and then a Spanish vessel coming from or going to the island of Java, with

* The following extract describes the trade of the Chinese junks.—TR.

"Of all foreign nations, the Chinese have settled in the

spices for account of Philippine merchants, the receipt of duties was left in charge of a single

---

greatest number in the Archipelago. Their country, overflowing with inhabitants, lies close to the Indian islands, and a constant intercourse is kept up between them. The Chinese junks never fail to bring a large supply of emigrants, and the European trading ships frequently do the same thing. But for the peculiar laws of China, which check the progress of emigration, by interdicting that of women entirely, we should long ago have seen the principal portion of the Archipelago colonized by this race. Many of these Chinese return to their own country, and the first intention of every emigrant is probably to do so, but circumstances detain a number of them in the islands, who intermarrying with the natives of the country, generate a race inferior in energy and spirit to the native settler, but speaking the language, wearing the garb, professing the religion, and affecting the manners of the parent country. The Chinese settlers may be described as at once enterprising, keen, laborious, luxurious, sensual, debauched and pusillanimous. They are most generally engaged in trade, in which they are equally speculative, expert and judicious. Their superior intelligence and activity have placed in their hands the management of the public revenue, in almost every country of the Archipelago, whether ruled by natives or Europeans; and of the traffic of the Archipelago with surrounding foreign nations, almost the whole is conducted by them. From China they have imported into the Indian islands the agricultural skill which distinguishes that country above all others of Asia. This skill is advantageously transferred to the culture of tropical products, to that of the sugar-cane, pepper and indigo. In the western countries, where there is least competition from the natives, the Chinese employ themselves

royal officer, and the valuations of merchandise made by him, in concert with two merchants named by the government; but with the knowledge and assistance of the king's attorney-general. The modifications and changes which have subsequently taken place in this department, have however been frequent, as is evidently shewn by the Historical Extract from the proceedings instituted before the Council of the Indies, by the merchants of Seville and Cadiz, in opposition to those of the Philippine Islands, printed in Madrid, 1736, in folio, by order of the said council; but as it does not enter into my views to speak of times so remote, I shall confine my remarks on this branch, considered under its present form.

In conformity to royal orders of 15th March and 5th May, 1786, the Royal Custom House of Manilla was definitively organized on its new plan; and from 1788, was placed under the immediate charge of an Administrator-General,

---

in handicraft trades, and are the best and most expeditious workers in wood and iron. They very seldom condescend to work as day-labourers. They are the least conscientious people alive; the constant prospect of gain or advantage must be presented to them to induce them to fulfil their engagements, which they will always evade when their judgment is not satisfied that an adherence to them will be certainly profitable." Crawfurd, vol. I.

a Controller, a Treasurer, aided by a competent number of guards, tidewaiters, &c., and in every respect regulated on the plan established in the other Custom Houses. The freedom of the port being granted to foreign nations, a privilege before enjoyed only by those purely Asiatic, and a new line of trade commenced by the Company, the competition in merchandise soon began to increase, as well as the revenue arising therefrom, in such manner that, although the exportation of goods was limited to the cargo of the Acapulco ship, of which the duties are not payable till her arrival there; notwithstanding also the property imported by the Company from China and India, and destined for their own shipments, was exempt from duties, and above all, the continual interruptions experienced by the maritime commerce of the islands within the last fifteen or twenty years, the nett proceeds of the Custom House, from the period above mentioned of its establishment, till the close of 1809, have not been less than from 138 to 140,000 dollars, on an average, as manifested in Table, N°. VIII.; independent of the amount of the king's fifth on the gold of the country, which is collected by the same administrator, in consequence of its being trivial; as well as the two per cent. belonging to the Board of Trade, and by them collected under that title, and after-

wards separately applied to the average-fund, and which usually may be estimated from 20 to 25,000 dollars.

The general duties now levied in the Custom House, are the following*:

---

* In consequence of the complete revolution that has recently taken place in the commercial regulations of Spain, and affecting every part of the monarchy, it has been deemed advisable to add the following decree, not only as explanatory to the text, but also useful to all merchants interested in Spanish, peninsular, or colonial trade.—Tr.

Ferdinand VII. by the Grace of God and the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, King of Spain, to all whomsoever these presents may reach—know that the Cortes have decreed as follows:—

The Cortes, by virtue of the powers granted to them by the Constitution, have decreed;

Art. 1. There shall be one uniform tariff of the Custom Houses in the whole of the Spanish Monarchy, which in Europe shall begin to operate from the 1st Jan. 1821, and thirty days after the order and new tariff shall have arrived in the ultramarine provinces; but with regard to the shipments which may be undertaken after the 1st January, 1821, in observance of the new tariff, the Captains or Mates of such vessels shall carry out the necessary certificates on their clearances, in order that at the places of their destination, the regulations of the new tariff may be observed, as far as regards said shipments.

2. Every year the Cortes shall confirm or amend the tariff of Customs, as may be deemed expedient.

3. The form of the general tariff of Customs shall, for the

IMPORT DUTIES. Six per cent. duties of *almojarifasgo* on all kinds of merchandise im-

---

present, be the one proposed by the Special Committee of Tariffs, for this purpose created by a royal order of 13th April, 1816, and which has been presented to the Cortes by the Secretary of the Finance Department, simplified in the following manner. All kinds of merchandise shall be divided into 15 classes, as expressed in the said project, and in exact alphabetical order, shall be included those articles already therein contained, adding thereto such new ones as may occur under another form. The charges shall be laid down according to numbers, weight, measure, or value, the duty on fixed quantities being specified, conformably to the regulations of the said project. The import and export duties shall be distinguished by two divisions; the first to be subdivided into four columns, viz. in the first shall be marked the number, weight, or measure, on which is to be regulated the duty of import, export, and home consumption, without any alteration in the manner that may be established for the entry; in the second, shall be inserted the value of each article paying duty; in the third, the rate of duty shall be stated; and in the fourth, the fixed amount of duty to be paid by the article specified. The second division, under the title of General Export, shall contain three columns, which, referring to the same rate of duty on articles enumerated in the first column of General Import, shall specify the value, the rate, and the duty on fixed quantities of the articles exported. To the two explained divisions or columns of import and export duties, shall be added another for the home consumption, in countries belonging to the Spanish Monarchy, in Europe as well as beyond seas, of all national articles of the Peninsula, America, and Asia. What regards the first, shall be exhibited in three columns united to

ported in foreign bottoms, under a valuation made by the surveyors, in conformity to the

---

the seven of the above divisions, specifying the value, rate, and the duty on fixed quantities; and with regard to the home consumption in the ultra-marine provinces, the same shall be expressed in contiguous columns, the rate being stated in the first, and in the second the amount on each article, according to the value of national articles, specified in the eighth column. And finally, a thirteenth column shall be added, specifying the fixed amount corresponding to the two per cent. for administration, in cases in which the same is to be paid for trans-shipping, or on exportation to a foreign country, as will be explained in Article 33; the said two per cent. being calculated in conformity to the rate stated in the second or eighth column, according as the same may be national or foreign articles.

4. One single duty shall be levied on account of the public revenue, on the import and export of foreign goods, as stated in the above project, and in the corresponding columns, the duty assigned to the national flag shall alone be specified.

5. In cases in which the importation or exportation in vessels bearing a foreign flag shall be allowed, the goods corresponding to such cargos on their entry or clearance, shall pay the duties specified in the general tariff, with the addition of one-third; but in case the entry or clearance of the goods corresponding to such cargos should be exempt from duty, it shall be the same for foreigners as well as Spaniards.

6. As soon as the goods have passed the Custom House, whether for importation, exportation, home consumption, or trans-shipment, the duties fixed by the tariff are to be paid, without any return or abatement on the exportation of those previously imported, or the re-entry of those exported, or for

respective prices of the market at the time of importation; and usually regulated by an in-

---

any other motive, unless it should arise out of some error in the calculations or accounts.

7. No premium, reward, or abatement of tariff duty shall be allowed in order to encourage the importation or exportation of any kind of merchandise, nor for any motive of utility or security, or any other pretext.

8. National and foreign goods of all kinds, except such as are prohibited, shall freely circulate in the interior of the line of counterpasses that may be established, without the need of certificates; and the circulation shall also be free in the intervening territory of said line, and that of the Custom Houses of the coasts and frontiers; but, in the latter case, certificates shall be requisite. In like manner the circulation outwards or coastwise, and between towns of the same province, shall be free from duties, but certificates will be required. In order, however, to circulate outwards from one province to another, the following rules shall be observed.

9. The circulation or re-shipment outwards of all kinds of goods, from one port or anchoring-place to another, for this purpose duly authorized by law, as specified in the two following articles, in the whole of the districts of the Spanish monarchy, and between each reciprocally and in a direct manner, shall be exclusively allowed in vessels bearing the national flag, according to the tariff regulations.

10. National goods which may thus circulate, or be shipped outwards, shall, in the custom-houses of the port of clearance, pay two per cent. for the expence of administration, and in the port of entry they shall be free from the duty of customs, excepting such articles to which the duty of home consumption shall be affixed.

crease of 50 per cent. on the prime cost of India goods, and of 33⅓ on those from China. This

---

11. Foreign goods imported, and which may have paid a regular duty in the custom-house of any port of the Peninsula, may circulate and be re-shipped outwards to any other port of the Peninsula, or be exported to a foreign country, on paying two per cent. for administration in the custom-house where the clearance is made, and nothing in that of their new destination; but they cannot be conveyed to any ultra-marine port of Spain, without being subject to a second import duty as foreign goods; and the same shall be observed with regard to articles of this kind imported through any custom-house in America or Asia; nor can they be conveyed from one section to another of the latter countries, nor to the Peninsula; that is, from a port to a Spanish port of the aforesaid distant regions, without the payment of fresh duties.

12. In case that the Spanish vessels, carrying coastwise from one Spanish port to another, foreign goods already imported, or Spanish goods subject to a duty on home consumption, should touch or anchor in a foreign port, and this should be proved in some legitimate way, although the deviation should not appear in the bill of health or the muster-roll, all the cargo, on arrival at the destined port of discharge, shall pay the duties of importation and of home consumption, although it may appear by the manifest, clearances and cockets; that the said duties have already been paid, and in addition, all the penalties for contravention to the laws of quarantine, navigation, and revenue, shall be enforced.

13. All the foreign goods which may not have been imported, and which may be actually deposited in ports in which those of the first class are permitted, may be carried by a Spanish vessel only, according to the regulations prescribed in

duty may consequently be considered as, in fact, equal to nine per cent. on the former, and eight on the latter.

---

the establishment of deposits for importation in other ports specially privileged in the Spanish dominions, without paying the two per cent. for administration, nor any other duty outwards, and without paying the duty inwards, until the importation shall take place in the port of destination, but with observance of the provisions of Art. 18, and of the regulations of deposit.

14. In the case provided for by the preceding Article, it shall not be permitted to ship in the same vessel any Spanish goods, nor any foreign goods already imported, neither in the first port of shipment, nor in any other where the vessel may touch, unless the foreign goods intended to be shipped from the deposit shall be previously entered, cleared, and the duties paid in the first port.

15. The same rule laid down in the preceding article shall apply to the carrying of Spanish goods subject to home consumption duties, and intended to be taken out of deposit to be conveyed to another port specially authorized. In these shipments it shall not be permitted to mix goods which have already paid the duties of importation, or for home consumption, with those that have not.

16. It shall not be permitted that goods once warehoused in a port of deposit, in any of the Spanish dominions, be conveyed to another deposit.

17. Every Spanish vessel may trade from any Spanish port, specially authorized, in all the Spanish dominions, to any foreign port, and import and export goods not prohibited, subject to the rules of the general tariff, and others on the subject.

18. Foreign goods shipped from Europe for countries be-

Six per cent. or the same duty, on all foreign goods, although imported in national bottoms.

---

yond the seas, if they pay the duties on importation in a port specially authorized in the Peninsula, shall be valued according to the rates fixed in the general tariff; but if it should be preferred to pay the duties only on arrival in an authorized port beyond seas, it may be done according to Art. 13; but the rate or value shall be considered as increased one half, if the goods should be shipped from a foreign port; but if shipped from a port of deposit of the first class in the Peninsula, the duties shall be calculated on the rates or value of the general tariff, and a fourth part, or 25 per cent. more, besides the extra duties on foreign flags, according to Art. 5. The same rule shall be reciprocally observed with foreign goods, which may be carried from Asia to America or Europe, or from America to the other two regions.

19. Foreign vessels shall be admitted in all the ports of the Spanish monarchy, on the same footing on which Spanish vessels may be admitted in the respective foreign ports of every nation in particular, and as practised in the possessions of each one in every part of the globe, or in a similarity of cases, places, and circumstances, for the only purposes specified in the following articles.

20. The foreign vessels which may anchor in a Spanish port, not for the purpose of loading or unloading, but solely for repairing or avoiding damage, or to procure provisions necessary for the crew, shall be admitted for the time required for that purpose; being merchant vessels, they shall be subject to manifests, search, and officers, as usual; and shall be treated as Spaniards are treated in the respective ports of those nations, exacting or not exacting, with the most scrupulous reciprocity, the tonnage, anchorage, and other dues, which may be paid by

Three per cent. on Spanish goods, imported under the national flag, equal, according to the above estimate, to 4 and 4½ per cent.

---

vessels in passing or remaining, either in free pratique or in quarantine.

21. Foreign vessels of more than 80 tons may import into the ports of deposit of the first class, and export from them foreign goods not prohibited, and being the produce of the country to which the vessel belongs, observing the rules prescribed in the establishment of the deposits; and on the goods which they land or load no other duty but the two per cent. of deposit shall be paid, unless they shall be imported by the same port into which alone they can be imported, or unless the term of deposit be expired, and they be considered as imported, in which cases the duties inwards shall be paid.

22. Foreign vessels of the said burthen can also export from the ports which may be authorized in the Spanish dominions foreign goods which have been imported and Spanish goods, observing what has been or may be ordered by the regulations of the general tariff.

23. Foreign vessels of upwards of 80 tons are likewise permitted to carry provisions and raw materials which cannot be used unless worked or manufactured, as their entry may be permitted, from Spanish ports to those in the Spanish territory which may be specially authorized, and also other goods, which may not be liable to more than the duty of Administration, provided always, that the said goods be the produce of the country to which the vessel belongs, and they must pay the duties without the benefit of deposit, unless they carry them to the corresponding deposits for the purpose of obtaining it.

24. By the frontier Custom-houses which shall be established for the purpose, only the importation of such goods

Two per cent. Board of Trade duty, indistinctly on all foreign property, and equivalent to 2½ or 3 per cent.

---

shall be permitted as are the produce, growth, or manufacture of the contiguous nation; and also the export of all foreign goods already imported, as well as national ones, conformably to the general tariff, in carts or on beasts, according to the roads, and precautions necessary to prevent smuggling.

25. Whatever shall be permitted or prohibited in any part of the Spanish monarchy, shall be equally so by general rule in all parts, with the exception of modifications, which different circumstances of place and time may require for the benefit of all Spaniards.

26. Deposits for maritime commerce shall be established in the ports, which, on the proposal of Government, may be approved by the Cortes; they will be of two classes; those of the first class will serve for depositing Spanish goods, subject to the payment of home consumption duties, and foreign goods. Those of the second class will be only for depositing Spanish goods, subject to home consumption duties, but not for foreign goods. No deposit of either class can be established in an insecure or defenceless port, or such as may not have shelter for vessels in permanent roadsteads, and fortifications to defend them, and in the immediate vicinity of which there is not a Custom-house and the necessary buildings for deposits, and a maritime Consulate; and amongst the ports in which these circumstances are combined, those shall be selected which export most produce and manufactured articles of the country.

27. The further fundamental regulations for granting deposits shall form a particular object of instructions, which will be inserted in the general tariff, and will be confirmed or amended every year. The same rule shall be observed for

Twenty-five per cent. anchorage dues, levied on the total amount of the almojarifasgo duty.

---

pointing out, preserving, granting, or taking away, on the proposal of Government, the privilege of deposit, with respect to the ports which may suit for the purposes of this new system, so as to combine the welfare of agriculture, industry and commerce, with that of the public revenue.

28. The goods invented by necessity or caprice, or those which may not be named in the general tariff, after it shall have been published, shall be charged or rated in the Custom-houses to pay duties in proportion to others to which they are analogous or like, to be done by the Administrators without causing any delay to business, but to be reported immediately to the General Direction of Revenue, for the purposes required.

29. The prohibition of importation or exportation of goods in the dominions of Spain shall form a separate article; besides which, their denominations shall be inserted in the general tariff, in the places corresponding to them in alphabetical order, and they shall be subject to a separate determination, which will be confirmed or amended by every legislature.

30. Merchant ships, Spanish as well as foreign, shall be considered as merchandise; their purchase or sale shall be permitted or prohibited, as may be expedient, and ordered in the general tariff every year, and all those belonging to Spaniards shall be nationalized.

31. On the left margin of the printed book of rates, or general tariff, as much blank space as possible is to be left for noting down the necessary and useful observations for better explanation and successive corrections.

32. The weight and measure of solids and fluids shall be

An additional 2½ per cent. a new and temporary duty, called *subvencion*, appropriated to the

---

the Castilian, for charging the duties according to the general tariff; and the money shall be effective, and not nominal or imaginary rials de Vellon.

33. The maximum of the duties on foreign goods imported shall be 30 per cent. on the valuations of the general tariff, and the minimum for administration two per cent. on importation or re-exportation and on the shipments by sea for the home trade. The maximum for Spanish goods, on exportation to foreign countries, shall be ten per cent. on said valuations; and the minimum two per cent. for administration on said exportation or for shipments by sea for the home trade, between province and province, in the proper cases. The maximum of the home consumption duties on Spanish goods that are subject to them, shall be fifteen per cent. on the respective valuations, without any limit as to the minimum, because there will be goods entirely exempt from these duties.

34. In the maximum and minimum of duties mentioned in the foregoing article, suitable gradations shall be established, according to the scientific principles which govern in similar cases.

COUNT DE TORENO, President.
J. M. SUBRIE, Secretary.
M. A. LOPEZ, Secretary.

Madrid, Oct. 5, 1820.

Wherefore, we command all Tribunals, Judges, Chiefs, Governors, and other Authorities, as well civil as military and ecclesiastic, of whatsoever class and dignity, that they observe and cause to be observed and executed the present decree, in all its parts. (Signed) JOSEF CANGA ARGUELLES.

Palace, Oct. 6, 1820.

payment of the loan made to the king by the Cadiz Board of Trade, and leviable on all kinds of imported goods, and of course equal, according to the usual mode of valuation, to about three per cent.

EXPORT DUTIES.—Three per cent. on the exportation of coined silver and gold of the country, in dust and ingots.

An additional or duty of *subvencion*, or temporary duty on the above, equal to ½ per cent.

One and a half per cent. under the same rate, on all kinds of goods, and equal to 2 or 2½ per cent.

One and a half per cent. on the amount of the cargo of the Acapulco ship, on leaving the port of Manilla, equal to ¼ per cent. on the real prime cost.

The Company are considered in the same light as the rest of the merchants, in the graduation and payment of duties, on such goods as they sell out of their own stores for local consumption, with the exemption only of the Board of Trade rate of 2 per cent., and 3 per cent. on the exportation of silver, according to a special privilege, and in conformity to the 61st article of the new royal decree of 1803.

Besides the duties above enumerated, there is another trifling one established for local purposes, under the name of *peso marchante*, being a

rate for the use of the king's scales, levied accordingly to an extremely equitable tariff, on certain articles only of solid weight, such as iron, copper, &c. The raw materials, as well as all kinds of manufactured articles, belonging to the islands, are exempt from duties on their entry in the port and river of Manilla; but some of the first are subject to the most unjust of all exactions, that is, to an arbitrary tax and to the obligation of being retailed out on board the vessels in which they have been brought down, and deliverable only to persons bearing a written order, signed by the sitting members of the municipality. Among this class of articles may be mentioned the coco of Zebu, the wax and oil of Las Bisayas, which are rated as objects of the first necessity.

With regard to the respective duties on the cargo annually dispatched by the merchants of Manilla to New Spain, the practice is tolerably well regulated. An extreme latitude is given to the moderate rates at which it is ordered to value the goods contained in the manifest, by which means these are frequently put down at only one half of their original prime cost; the commission to frame the scale of valuations which is to be in force for five years, after which time it is renewed, being left to three merchants, and made subject to the revision

of the King's Attorney General and the approbation of the Governor; consequently, such being the nature of the tariff on which these operations are founded, the 33⅓, to which the royal duties amount on the 500,000 dollars stipulated in the permit, does not, in fact, affect the shipper beyond the rate of 15 per cent., in consequence of the great difference between the prime cost and valuation of the articles corresponding to the permit; or, what is the same thing, between the 500,000 dollars nominal value, and 1,100,000, or 1,200,000 dollars, the real amount of the cargo in question. The most remarkable circumstance, however, is, that the officers of the revenue in Acapulco collect the abovementioned 33⅓ per cent. in absolute conformity to the Manilla valuation, and not according to the value of the goods in America, and without any other formality than a comparison of the cargo with the ship's papers. In honour of truth, it ought to be further observed that, although the Manilla merchant by this means seeks to exempt himself from part of the enormous duties with which it has been attempted to paralyze the only commercial intercourse he carries on with New Spain, in every other respect connected with this operation, he acts in a sufficiently legal manner, and if at their return those vessels have been in the habit

of bringing back near a million of dollars in a smuggled way, it must be acknowledged that it is the harshness of the law which compels the merchant to become a smuggler; for, according to the strange regulation by which he is thwarted in the returns representing the proceeds of his outward operation, he must either bring the money to the Philippine Islands without having it declared on the ship's papers, or be obliged to leave the greatest part of it in the hands of others, subject to such contingencies as happen in trade. As long, therefore, as the present limitations subsist, which only authorize returns equal to double the value of the outward-bound cargo, this species of contraband will inevitably continue. The governors also, actuated by the principles of reason and natural justice, will, as they have hitherto done, wink at the infraction of the fiscal laws; a forbearance, in fact, indirectly beneficial to them, inasmuch as it eventually contributes to the general improvement of the colony. Indeed, without this species of judicious condescension, trade would soon stand still for the want of the necessary funds to carry it on*.

* The public of this country were made acquainted with the existence of this singular trade by Commodore Anson's famous capture of the Acapulco ship, La Nuestra Señora de Covadonga, by the Centurion, having on board 1,313,843

We shall now proceed to notice another class of defects, in their operation of sufficient importance to merit a particular consideration. It will readily be acknowledged that, in like manner as the good organization of Custom Houses is favourable to the progress of general commerce, so nothing is more injurious to its growth and the enterprise of merchants, than any un-

---

pieces of eight, 35,682 ounces of silver, cochineal, &c. From that time up to the present it has continued on nearly the same footing; but, of course, it is now thrown open by the re-establishment of the constitution. Acapulco, the chief shipping-port of New Spain on the Pacific, is the finest harbour on that sea, being an immense basin, as it were hollowed out of rocks, and only open to the S. S. W. The country round is extremely sombre and romantic, the climate unhealthy, and the town contains no more than 4000 inhabitants, chiefly persons of colour; though the arrival of the galleon from Manilla always brings there as many more strangers, who come to attend the fair then held. This ship usually left the Philippines about the middle of July or beginning of August, and the voyage to Acapulco generally lasted about three months. The N. W. and S. W. winds are the prevailing ones in that line of the Pacific, and the trade winds serve to return. The vessel usually touched at the Island of Guam, one of the Marianas, to leave there the *situado* or yearly allowance of money from Mexico, for the payment of the troops, &c. to land supplies of woollens, and to obtain provisions. This is almost the only use Spain has hitherto made of this insular and secluded establishment, of which a description has been given in the Preliminary Discourse.—Tr.

certainty or arbitrary conduct in the levying of duties to be paid by them. This arises out of the circumstance of every merchant, entering on a new speculation, being anxious to have, as the principal groundwork of his combinations, a perfect knowledge of the exact amount of his disbursements, in order to be enabled to calculate the final result with some degree of certainty. Considered in this point of view, the system adopted in the islands is certainly deplorable, since it must be acknowledged that the principles and common rules of all other commercial countries, are there unknown. For example; this year a cargo arrives from China or Bengal, and the captain delivers in his manifest. The Custom-house surveyors then commence the valuation of the goods of which his cargo is composed: I say they commence, because it is a common case for them not to have finished the estimate of the scale and amount of corresponding duties, till after the expiration of two, four, and not unfrequently six months. The rule they affect to follow, in this valuation, is that of the prices current in the market, and in order to ascertain what these are, they are seen going round inquiring in the shops of the Sangleyes, till at length, finding it useless to go in search of correct and concurrent data, in a place where there are neither brokers nor public auctions,

they are forced to determine in an arbitrary manner, and as the adage goes, always take good care to see their employers on the right side of the hedge. The grand work being ended, with all this form and prolixity, the sentence of the surveyors is irrevocable. The bondsman of the captain, who, in the meanwhile, has usually sold his cargo and departed with a fresh one for another destination, pays in the amount of the duties, thus regulated by law.

The practical defects and injurious consequences of such a system as this, it would be unnecessary to particularize. It would, however, be still less intolerable, if, once put in force, it could serve the merchant as a guide in the valuations of his property for a determined number of successive years. What, however, renders this assessment more prejudicial, is, its instability and uncertainty, and the repetition of the same operation I have just described every year, and with every cargo that arrives; but under distinct valuations, according to the reports or humour of the day. Besides these great defects and irregularity, the Philippine Custom-house observes the singular practice of not allowing the temporary landing of goods entered *in transitu* and for re-exportation, as is done on the bonding system in all countries where exertions are made by those in authority for the extension

and improvement of commerce in every possible way. Of course, much less will they consent to the drawback or return of any part of the duties on goods entered outwards, even though they are still on board the very vessels in which they originally came shipped. Beyond all doubt, the wrongly understood severity of such a system, has, and will, continue to prevent many vessels from frequenting the port of Manilla, and trying the market, unable to rely on the same liberal treatment they can meet with in other places.

MONOPOLY OF THE BONGA OR ARECA NUT. —The *bonga*, or areca-nut, is the fruit of a very high palm-tree, not unlike the one that bears the date, and the nuts, similar to the latter, hang in great clusters from below the protuberance of the leaves or branches*. Its figure and size resemble

* The areca-palm (*Areca Catechu* of Linnæus), is a slender graceful tree, 30 or 40 feet high, producing fruit from the sixth year, and continuing to bear till after the twenty-fifth. The fruit is eaten in its unripe and ripe state, but generally in the latter, when it assumes an orange colour. The exterior part is then a soft, spongy, and fibrous substance, and the interior a nut, resembling the nutmeg, though usually larger and harder. The tree thrives at a greater distance from the sea than the usual class of palms, in elevated situations, and the plantations are highly ornamental. It yields two crops, or, on an average, 14lbs. per annum.—TR.

a common nut, but solid, like the nutmeg. Divided into small pieces, it is placed in the centre of a small ball made of the tender leaves of the *buyo* or *betel* pepper, lightly covered with slacked lime, and this composition constitutes the celebrated betel of Asia, or, as it is here called, the *buyo*, the latter differing from that used in India, inasmuch only as it contains cardamomom*.

* The use of the prepared *areca* and *betel* is general in the Indian Archipelago, as well as among several Asiatic continental nations, who, it is thought, learnt it from the natives of the former. The preparation is made by a mixture of areca cut, the pungent and aromatic leaves of the betel, a species of pepper-vine, a small quantity of *terra japonica*, an agreeable bitter astringent, and a small proportion of quick lime. This preparation is masticated, and produces a dark colour on the teeth and gums, considered by the natives a beauty. The *gamber*, or *terra japonica*, is found in the islands, and is thence exported to Java and China. It is derived from a plant, of which the leaves yield an inspissated juice, when boiled and reduced to a syrup. After being cooled, it hardens, and when perfectly dried and solid, is cut in small cakes, and in this state used as a masticatory with the areca nut.

It is singular the Peruvians have a plant, used by them in the same way, but possessing virtues which the prepared areca does not, since the latter boasts no other than narcotic qualities. I mean the *coca* or *erithroxylon*, a plant deified by the ancient Peruvians, and still used and held in the highest estimation, though under no monopoly. The *coca* grows in what are called the *Yungas* in the *Quechuan* language, or hot and humid places, such as the declivities of the Andes mountains, with a

The government, anxious to derive advantage in aid and support of the colony, from the great

---

southern exposure. This shrub, which grows nine or ten feet high, affords leaves after the second year, and the crop depends on the goodness of the soil, abundant rains, cleanness of the grounds, and the absence of an insect, called *ulo*. Although it flowers only once a year, it is thrice covered with leaves, consequently, furnishes that number of crops, though not equally plentiful. The leaves are carefully gathered, as soon as on the inside they have assumed a transparent green, and on the outside a ruddy colour. They are then dried and packed up. In the early times of the Incas, the *coca* was reserved for the worship and solemnities of the gods, and the use only of those monarchs who boasted their immediate descent from them. No other person was allowed to use it, unless his heroic and distinguished services entitled him to share this honour with his sovereign, who frequently thus rewarded merit. When the Spaniards arrived in Peru, the use had become general, even among the plebeians. The *coca* was also made the representative of value, and served the purposes of money. Of these leaves 400,000 baskets are now annually produced in La Paz and other districts of Upper Peru, three parts of which are gathered in the district of Chulumani. Lower Peru yields about 22,000 baskets, chiefly grown in the district of Pancaritambo. The usual value on the spot, is from 6 to 8 dollars per basket, weighing 75lbs. though the planters, owing to distance and difficulties of conveyance, usually contract to deliver it at the mines, for 6 dollars per *arroba*, or 25lbs. The use is similar to that made of the prepared areca in the East Indies, and hence some authors have ventured to deduce the common origin of the Peruvians. At present, the Indians weave small ornamented bags or purses, which they

use the inhabitants make of the *buyo*, many years ago determined to establish the sale of the *bonga*, its principal ingredient, into a monopoly, either by hiring the privilege out, or placing it under a plan of administration, in the form in which it now stands. Both schemes have been tried, but in neither way has this branch been made to yield more than 30,000 dollars; indeed the annual proceeds usually have not exceeded 25,000. In 1809, the total amount of sales was

---

fill with *coca* and carry hung to their girdles. In some provinces, they use small calabashes filled with lime, but the most usual method is, to form from the ashes of the *quinua* stalk, a species of millet, small cakes, called *llipta*, and this, or lime, serves as an alkaline masticatory with the *coca*. To take his quid, the Indian seats himself very composedly, although on a journey, or engaged in hard labour, pulls out his *chuspa*, or bag, and leaf by leaf, puts the *coca* into his mouth, masticating and turning it round till it forms a ball, which he places in the corner of his mouth. He then takes a spoonful of lime or a bite of his alkaline cake, to add to his quid. The natives usually chew five or six times a day, always when they begin work, or when tired. The coca is a bitter tonic, and its balsamic virtues prevent the bad effects of the arsenic dust with which the air is charged in the interior of the mines; indeed without this plant, the Indians would never be induced to work in them, and hence the miners are obliged to keep regular supplies. A great number of other curious facts and particulars will be found in a descriptive and historical account of this plant, furnished by the translator to the last series of the Colonial Journal.—Tr.

48,610 dollars, and deducting from this sum the prime cost and expences of administration, the nett profit in favour of the treasury was equal to no more than 27,078 dollars, or upwards of 125¼ per cent. In 1780, the privilege of selling the *bonga* was let out at public auction for the sum of 15,765 dollars, and this, compared with the present proceeds, clearly shews that, although the increase has not been adequate to that of the other branches of the revenue, it is far from having declined. It must nevertheless be confessed, that on the present footing on which it stands, the smallness of the proceeds is not worth the trouble required in the collection, and even if the amount were still greater, it could never serve as an excuse for the oppression and violence to which this monopoly frequently gives rise.

As the trees producing the *bonga* are not confined to any particular grounds, and indistinctly grow in all, the plan has been adopted of compelling the Indians to gather and bring in the fruit, raised on their lands, to the depôt nearest the district in which they reside. There they are paid from 2, 2½, 3 and 3¼ rials per thousand, according to the distance from which they come; and, in order to prevent frauds, the surveyors belonging to the revenue go out, at certain times of the year, to examine the *bonga* plantations, and the trees being counted, they estimate the

fruit, that is, oblige the proprietor to undertake to deliver in 200 nuts for each bearing tree, whether or not, hurricanes deteriorate or destroy the produce, or thieves plunder the plantations, as very frequently happens. In case deficiencies are proved against him, he is compelled to pay for them in money, at the rate of 25 rials per thousand, the price at which the king sells them in the monopoly-stores. Besides, the precise condition of delivering in 200 sound *bonga* nuts, according to the stipulations imposed upon him, presupposes the previous exclusion of all the injured or green ones; and although the ordinary trees usually yield as many as 300 nuts each, great numbers are nevertheless spoiled. If, to the adverse accidents arising out of storms and robberies, we add the effects of the whims or ill-humour of the receivers, it is not easy to imagine to what a length the injuries extend which befal the man who has the folly or misfortune to become a planter of this article.

On the other hand, as in the conveyances from the minor to the larger depôts, frauds are frequently committed, and the heaping together of many millions of nuts inevitably produces the fermentation and rapid putrefaction of a great number of them, it consequently follows that the waste must be immense; or if it is determined to sell all the stock laid in, without any distinc-

tion in quality and price, the public must be very badly served and displeased, as in fact too often happens. Since therefore the habit of using the *buyo* is still more prevailing than that of tobacco, when suitable supplies cannot be had in the monopoly stores, the consumer naturally resorts to contraband channels, although he encounters some risk, and expends more money. It is also very natural that the desire of gain should thus lead on and daily expose a number of needy persons, anxious by this means to support and relieve the wants of their families. Returning, however, to what more immediately concerns the grower, I do not know that the oppressive genius of fiscal laws has, in any country of the globe, invented one more refinedly tyrannic, than to condemn a man, to a certain degree at least, as has hitherto been the case, to the punishment of Tantalus; for the law forbids the Indian to touch the fruit of the tree planted with his own hands, and which hangs in tempting and luxuriant abundance round his humble dwelling.

It would be easy for me to enumerate many other inconveniences attending this branch of public revenue, on the footing on which it now stands, if what has already been said did not suffice to point out the necessity of changing the system, as long as those in authority are anxious

that the treasury should gain more, and the king's subjects suffer less. The strong prejudices entertained against this source of revenue, the inconsiderable sum it produces, and the complicated form of its organization, have in reality been sufficient motives to induce many to become strenuous advocates for the total abolition of the monopoly. I do not, however, on this account, see any reasons for altogether depriving the government of a productive resource, as this might soon be rendered, if it was placed under regulations less odious and more simple in themselves. I nevertheless agree, that the perfect monopoly of the areca fruit, or *bonga*, is impracticable, till the trees, indiscriminately planted, are cut down, and, in the same way as the tobacco plantations, fresh and definite grounds are laid out for its cultivation, on account of the revenue. I am further aware that this measure is less practicable than the first; for, independent of all the other obstacles, it would be necessary to wait till the new plantations yielded fruit, and also that the public should consent to refrain from masticating *buyo*, in the meanwhile, a pretension as mad as it would be to require that the eating of salt should be dispensed with for a given number of years. But, what difficulty would there be, for example, in the proprietors paying so much a year for each *bonga* tree, to the district magis-

trate, the governor of the nearest town, or the *cabeza de Batangay*, or chiefs of the clans into which the natives are divided, in the same manner as the Indian pays his tribute? The only one I anticipate, is, that of fixing the amount, in such way that at the same time this resource is made to produce an increased income of some moment, it may act as a moderate tax on an indefinite property, the amount of which, augmented in the sale price, may be reimbursed to the proprietor by the great body of consumers. It is not in fact easy to foresee or estimate, by any means of approximation, the alteration in the current price of the *bonga*, that would result from the indefinite freedom of its cultivation and sale, especially during the first years. Although, for this reason, it would be impossible to ascertain what proportion the impost on the tree would then bear with regard to the value of the fruit, the error that might accrue would be of little moment, as long as precautions were taken to adopt a very low rate of comparison, and a proportionably equitable one as the basis of taxation. Supposing then that the price of the *bonga* should decline from 25 rials, at which it is now sold in the monopoly stores, to 15 rials per thousand, in the general market, and a tax of ¼ of a rial should be laid on each tree valued at 200 *bonga* nuts, it is clear that this would be

equal to no more than 8¼ per cent.; or, what is the same, the tax would be in the proportion of 1 to 12 with the proceeds of each tree, and the more the value of the fruit was raised, the more would the rate of contribution diminish. It ought at the same time to be observed that, under the above estimate, that is, supposing the price of the article to remain at 15 rials, the 8¼ per cent. at which rate the tax is regulated, would not perhaps exceed five or six per cent. on a more minute calculation; in the first place, because at the time of making out the returns of the trees, those only ought to be set down which are in their full vigour, excluding such as through the want or excess of age, only yield a small proportion of fruit; and in the second, because in the numbers registered, the trees would only be rated at 200 nuts, although it is well known they usually yield 300, in order by this means the better to avoid all motives of complaint. In this point of view, and by adopting similar rules of probability, it seems to me that the government would not risk much by an attempt to change the present system into a tax levied on the tree itself, on a plan similar to the one above proposed; more particularly by doing it in a temporary manner, and rendering it completely subservient to the corrections subsequent experience might suggest in this particular.

The difficulty being, in this manner, overcome, with regard to the prudent determination of the rate at which the proprietor of the *bonga* plantations ought to contribute, let us now proceed to estimate, by approximation, the annual sum that would thus be obtained. As, however, this operation is unfortunately complicated, and in great measure depends on the previous knowledge of the total number of trees liable to the tax proposed, details with which we are not at present prepared, it is impossible to come at any very accurate results. All that can be done, is, to endeavour to demonstrate, in general terms, the great increase the revenue would experience by the adoption of the new plan, and the real advantages resulting from it to the contributors themselves, all which may be easily deduced from the following simple calculation.

Let us, in the first instance, suppose that the consumers of *buyo*, in the whole of the islands, do not exceed one million of persons, and that each one makes use of three *bongas* per day, this consumption, at the end of the year, would then amount to 1,095,000,000 nuts. We will next divide this sum by 200, at which the product of each tree, one with another, is rated, and the result will be 5,475,000 trees. This number being taxed at the rate of ¼ of a rial, would leave the sum of 171,093 dollars, 6 rials,

and deducting therefrom the 25,000 dollars yielded by this branch under its present establishment, together with 5,132 dollars, equal to three per cent. paid to the district magistrates for the charges of collection, we should still have an annual increase in favour of the treasury, equal to 140,961 dollars, 6 rials.

It might perhaps be objected that, in this case, the proprietor, instead of receiving, as before, 2¼ rials for every thousand *bongas*, would have to disburse 1¼ rial in the mere act of paying ¼ of a rial for each tree; a circumstance which, at first sight, seems to produce a difference not of 1¼ but of 3¼ rials per thousand against him; though in reality far from this being the case, if we take into consideration the deficiencies the sworn receiver usually lays to his charge, the fruit he rejects, owing to its being green or rotten, and the many and expensive grievances he is exposed to in his capacity of grower, it will be seen that his disbursements under these heads frequently exceed the amount he in fact has to receive. If, in addition to this, we bear in mind that, on condition of seeing himself free from guards and a variety of insupportable restrictions, constituting the very essence of a monopoly, he would in all probability gladly pay much more than the tax in question, all the doubts arising on this point will entirely disappear.

Finally, considered in its true light, we shall not find in the measure above described, any thing more than a very trifling discount required of the proprietor from the price at which he sells his *bonga*, and which, as already noticed, ultimately falls on the consumer alone.

The moderate estimate I have just formed ought to inspire the more confidence, from its being well known that the use of the *buyo* is general among the inhabitants of these islands. The calculation, as it now stands, rests only on one million of consumers, for each of whom I have only put down three *bongas* per day, whereas it is customary to use much more; nor have I taken into account the infinite number of nuts wasted after being converted into the *buyo*, a fact equally well known. Indeed, as the object proposed was no other than to prove the main part of my assertions, and I trust this is satisfactorily done, I have not deemed it necessary to include in the above calculation a greater number of minute circumstances, nor attempt to deduce more favourable results, which, with the scope before me, I was most assuredly warranted in doing.

In a word, from the concurrence of the facts and reasons above adduced, the following propositions may, without any difficulty, be laid down. First, that the increase of revenue pro-

duced by the reform in question, would in all probability, exceed 150,000 dollars per annum; secondly, that the Indian would soon comprehend, and gladly consent to a change of this kind in the mode of contributing, of which the advantages would be apparent; thirdly, that the persons employed in the old establishment, might, with greater public utility, be applied to other purposes; and lastly, that the civil magistrates would not be harassed with so many strifes and lawsuits, and so many melancholy victims of the monopoly and its officers would cease to drag a wretched existence in the prisons and places of hard labour in these islands.

CHAP. V.

Revenue continued.—Licence of Cockpits.—Indian Tributes.—Subaltern Branches.—Disbursements, and general Expences.

LICENCE OF COCKPITS.—This branch of the revenue is hired out by the government, and the licence is separately set up at auction for the respective provinces. Its nature and regulations are so well known, that they do not require a particular description; the general obligations of the contractors being the same as those in New Spain. Perhaps the only difference observed in this public exhibition in the Philippine Islands, consists in its greater simplicity, owing to its being frequented only by the natives, the whites who are present at this kind of diversion, being very few, or indeed none.

The cockpits are open two days in the week, and the renters of them receive half a rial from every person who enters, besides the extra price they charge those who occupy the best seats, the owners of the fighting cocks, for the spurs, stalls for the sale of *buyo*, refreshments, &c. Notwithstanding all this, and although cock-fighting is so general and favourite an amusement among

these people, that the cock may justly be considered as the distinctive emblem of the Philippine Indian, the annual proceeds of this branch are inconsiderable; although it must be acknowledged that it has greatly increased since the year 1780, when it appears the licence was let at auction for no more than 14,000 dollars, owing no doubt to the exclusive privilege of the contractors not having been extended to the provinces, as was afterwards gradually done.

The total sum paid to government by the renters of this branch, according to the auction returns in 1810, amounted to 40,141 dollars, in the following order.

Province of Tondo . . .	18,501
——— Cavite	2,225
——— La Laguna . .	2,005
——— La Pampanga .	3,000
——— Bulacan . . .	6,900
——— Batangas . . .	2,000
——— Pangasinan . .	1,200
——— Bataan . . .	1,050
——— Iloilo	1,600
——— Ilocos	600
——— Tayabas . . .	400
——— Zebu	360
——— Albay	300
Dollars	40,141*

* It is singular that the produce of this branch of revenue

The causes to which the increase is chiefly to be attributed, that has taken place within the last 25 or 30 years, have already been pointed out, and for this reason it would appear that, by adopting the same plan with regard to the fourteen remaining provinces, of which this captaincy general is composed, hitherto free from the imposition of this tax, an augmentation might be expected, proportionate to the population, their circumstances, and the greater or lesser taste for cock-fights prevailing among the respective inhabitants. At the commencement, no doubt, the rentals would be low, and of course the prices at which the licences were let out, would be equally so; but the experience and profits derivable from this kind of enterprises, would not fail soon to excite the competition of contractors, and in this way add to the revenue of the government. This is so obvious, that I cannot help suspecting attempts have, at some period or other, been made to introduce the establishment of this privilege, in some of the provinces above alluded to; at the same time I

---

in the Philippine Islands, is nearly equal to that of New Spain, a country containing more than double the inhabitants, the entries at the treasury there being calculated at 45,000 dollars. This proves the greater partiality for this species of diversion. —Tr.

am persuaded that, owing to the affair not having been viewed in its proper light, seeking on the contrary to obtain an immediate and disproportionate result, the authorities have been too soon disheartened, and given up the project without a fair trial. All towns and districts murmur, and at first object to taxes, however light they may be; but, at length, if they are not excessive, the people become reconciled to them. The one here proposed is neither of this character, nor can it be deemed odious on account of its novelty. The Indians are well aware that their brethren in the other provinces are subject to it, and that in this nothing more is done than rendering the system uniform. I therefore see no reason why the establishment of this branch of revenue should not be extended to all the points of the islands, at the commencement, let it produce what it may, since constancy and time will bring things to the same general level.

INDIAN TRIBUTES.—The too great condescension and mistaken humanity of the government on the one hand, and the fraud and selfishness of the provincial sub-delegates or collectors, on the other, have concurred to change a contribution, the most simple, into one of the most complicated branches of public administration. The first cause has been owing to a too general

acquiescence to receive the amount of tributes in the produce peculiar to each province, instead of money; and the second, because as the above officers are the persons intrusted with the collection, whenever the sale has held out to them any advantage, they have been in the habit of appropriating the several articles to themselves, without allowing any benefit to the treasury. If the prospective sales of the produce appear unfavourable, it is then forwarded on to the king's stores in Manilla, surcharged with freights, exposed to many risks, and the value greatly diminished by waste and many other causes. No order or regularity being thus observed in this respect, and the sale of the produce transmitted to the king's stores being regulated by the greater or lesser abundance in the general market, and a considerable stock besides left remaining, from one year to another, and eventually spoiled, it is almost impossible to form any exact estimate of this branch. If to these complicated matters we add the radical vices arising out of the infidelity of the heads of clans, the difficulty of ascertaining the defects of the returns made out by them, the variations annually occurring in the number of those exempted either through age or other legal motives, and above all, the frequently inevitable tardiness with which the district magistrates send in their

respective accounts, it will be readily acknowledged, that no department requires more zeal in its administration, and no one is more susceptible of all kinds of frauds, or attended with more difficulties.

In this state of uncertainty, with regard to this particular branch, I have guided myself by the last general return of tributes, made out in the accountant-general's office, on the best and most recent data, and calculating indistinctly the whole value in money, I have deemed it proper afterwards to make a moderate deduction, on account of the differences above stated, and arising out of the collection of the tributes in kind, the expences of conveyance, shipwrecks, averages, and other causes already enumerated. That a complete view may be had of this subject, reference may also be made to the statement contained in Table, N°. IX.

In conformity to this calculation, the total proceeds of this branch of revenue amount to 506,215 dollars, from which sum are deducted, in the primitive stages of the accounts, the amount of ecclesiastical stipends, the pay of the troops under the immediate orders of the chief district magistrates in their quality of war-captains, together with all other extraordinary expences incurred in the provinces by orders of the government, the remainder being afterwards

forwarded to the king's treasury*. It ought, however, to be observed, that the above aggregate sum is more or less liable to deficiencies, according to the greater or lesser degree of punctuality on the part of the sub-collectors in making up their accounts, and the solidity of

---

* Humboldt rates the gross proceeds of the capitation-tax in New Spain, at 1,300,000 dollars, leaving 899,521 dollars nett amount, after deducting the expences belonging to this branch. In 1746, this did not exceed 650,000 dollars, a consoling proof that the Indian population has increased, and civilization been extended. The following are the official returns of the Indians of Peru and amount of tributes paid by them, and will serve to form a comparison between three of the most interesting portions of the transmarine dominions of Spain.

Indian men	314,863	
Indian women	304,327	
Total subject to tribute	619,190	
Exempt from infirmity, &c.	173,615	
Total Indians in Peru	792,805	
Amount of tributes received in 1795	885,586	dollars.
Received from the hospital	25,852	
	911,438	
Deduct expences, pensions, &c.	374,052	
Nett amount	537,386	dollars.

The collection of this rate in Peru is managed by a Board, consisting of a president and five commissioners.—Tr.

their respective sureties; the failures of this kind experienced by the revenue being so frequent, that, according to the returns of the accountant-general, those which occurred between the years 1762 and 1809, were no less than 215,765 dollars, notwithstanding the great precautions at all times taken to prevent such considerable injuries, by every means compatible with the precarious tenure of property, possessed by both principals and sureties in this country. All the above circumstances being therefore taken into due consideration, and the ordinary and extraordinary discounts made from the total amount of tributes, the real sum remaining, or the nett annual proceeds of the above branch, have usually not been rated at more than 190 or 200,000 dollars; a sum respectively extremely small, and which possibly might be doubled, without the necessity of recurring to any other measure than a standing order for the collecting of the tributes in money, as by this means the variety of expences and complications above enumerated, would be avoided, and the king's revenue no longer exposed to any other deficiencies than those arising out of the insolvency of the sub-collectors and their sureties, or casual risks, and the trifling charges paid for the conveyance of the money. If in opposition to this it should be alleged, that it would be advisable to except some of the pro-

vinces from this general rule, owing to the advantage the government might derive from certain tributes being paid in kind, I do not hesitate to answer, that I see no reason whatever why this should be done, because, if, for example, any quantity of rigging or sail-cloth is annually required, it would be easy to obtain it either by early contracts, or by laying in the articles at the current market price. Indeed, all supplies which do not rest on this footing, would be to defraud the Indian of the fruits of his industry, and in the final result this would be the same as requiring of him double or triple tribute, contrary to the spirit of the law, and which unfortunately is too frequently the case, under the existing system.

Considering this affair in another point of view, it would be easy for me to demonstrate, if it were necessary, the mistaken idea that the Indian is benefited by receiving in kind the amount of the tribute he has to pay, at the low prices marked in the tariff used as a standard, by shewing the extortions and brokerage, if I may so term it, to which the practice gives rise on the part of the district collectors. It will, however, suffice to call the attention of my readers to the smallness of the sum, constituting the ordinary tribute, when reduced to money, in order for them to be convinced that it would

be superfluous, as well as hazardous, to attempt to point out means by which this branch might be rendered more productive to the state, and at the same time less burdensome to the contributors, more particularly when the rate assessed does not exceed 10 rials per year, a sum so small, that generally speaking, no family can be found unable to hoard it up, if they have any inclination so to do.

The prevailing error, however, in this respect, I am confident arises out of a principle very different from the one to which it is usually attributed. The tributary Indian is, in fact, disposed to pay the quota assigned to him into the hands of the chief of his clan, in money, in preference to kind; because, independent of the small value at which the articles in kind are rated in the tariff, he is then exposed to no expences, as he now is for the conveyance of his produce and effects; nor is he liable to so many accidents. But as the chief of each clan has to deliver in his 40 or 50 tributes to the head magistrate, who is answerable for those of the whole province, it is natural for him to endeavour to make his corresponding payments in some equivalent affording him a profit; at the same time the provincial magistrate, speculating on a larger scale, on the produce arising out of his jurisdiction, seeks to obtain from the government a

profitable commutation in kind for that which the original contributor would have preferred paying in money. In order the better to attain his purpose, he asserts, as a pretext, the impossibility of collecting in the tribute under another form, alleging, moreover, the relief the Indian derives from this mode, whereas, if only duly examined, such a pretence is founded on the avarice, rather than the humanity of the magistrate.

Leaving to one side the defects attributable to the present mode of collection, and considering the tribute as it is in itself, the attentive observer must confess, that in no part of our Indies is this more moderate; and indeed, it is evident that the laws generally relating to the natives of these islands, seem to distinguish them with a decided predilection above those of the various sections of America *.

---

* The rate of the capitation tax is not uniform in all the divisions of Spanish America, nor indeed, in all the provinces of the same viceroyalty. In 1601, Humboldt says, the Indian paid 32 rials tribute, and 4 rials king's service; in all about 23 francs. It was afterwards reduced, and at present is about 11 francs; but besides the Indian pays parochial rates, viz. 10 francs for a baptism, 20 for a certificate of marriage, and 32 for burial expences. To the above 62 francs levied by the church, about 25 or 30 more, of voluntary offerings, are to be added. These are the rates of New Spain.—Tr.

The tribute, in its origin, was only 8 rials per family; but the necessity of providing for the increased expences of the government, gave rise to this rate being afterwards raised to 10. The cast of the Sangley Mestizos pay double tribute, and the Sangleyes contribute at the rate of 6 dollars per head. Besides this, all pay a yearly sum, applicable to the funds belonging to the community, and the above two casts pay 3 rials more, as a church rate, and under the name of the Sanctuary, the whole being in the following form.

Entire Indian Tribute.	Id. of Mestizos.	Sangleyes.
8 Rials, original tribute.	16 Rials.	6 Dollars each.
1½ Rials, for expences of troops.	3	
½ Rial of tythes.	1	
10 Rials, amount of tribute.	20 Rials.	6 Dollars.
1 Id. community funds.	1 Id.	6 Rials.
3 Id. sanctuary rate.	3 Id.	
14 Rials, total annual disbursement.	24 Rials.	6 Dols. 6 Rials.

The males commence paying tribute at twenty years of age and the females at twenty-five, if before they have not entered the matrimonial state, and in both the obligation ceases at the age of sixty. The chiefs of clans, or *cabezas de barangai* and their eldest sons, or in default of children, the person adopted in their stead,

that is, an entire tribute and a half, are exempt from this tax, as a remuneration for the trouble and responsibility they may have in collecting in the 40 or 50 tributes, of which their respective clans are composed. Besides these there are various other classes of exempted persons, such as soldiers who have served a certain number of years, those who have distinguished themselves in any particular manner in the improvement of industry or agriculture, and others who have received special certificates, on just and equitable grounds. On summing up the total number of exempted persons, on an average in the whole of the provinces, they will be found in the proportion of 50 to every 1000 entire tributes.

The capitation-tax of the Sangleyes has usually been attended with so many difficulties in its collection, owing to the facilities with which they absent or secrete themselves, and the many stratagems this cunning and artful race employ to elude the vigilance of the commissioners, that the government has at length found itself compelled to let out this branch, as was done in 1809, when it was disposed of in the name of one of them for the moderate sum of 30,000 dollars; notwithstanding it is a generally received opinion, that the number of this description of Chinese, constantly residing in the islands, is above 7000, which, at the rate of 6 dollars per

head, would raise this proportion of the tax as high as 42,000 dollars.

The Community funds belonging to each town, have, in conformity to the regulations under which they are administered, a special, or I might say, local application; but collected together into one stock, as is now the case, and directly administered by the government, they produce a more general utility. The head town of the province A, for example, requires to rebuild the public prison or town-hall, and its own private funds are not sufficient to defray the expences of the work in question. In this case, therefore, the government gives orders for the other dependent towns to make up the deficiency by taking their proportions from the respective coffers, as all have an equal interest in the proposed object being carried into effect. The king's officers, in consequence thereof, draw the corresponding sums from these funds, the whole of which are under their immediate superintendence. And in order that the surplus of this stock may not stand still, but obtain every possible increase in a country where the premium given for money is excessive, when let out at a maritime risk, it is ordered that some part shall be appropriated in this way, and on the same terms as those observed by the administrators of the charity funds belonging to the Mercy

establishment, and the third order of St. Francis, which is another of the great advantages of assembling this class of property.

In consequence of this judicious regulation, and the success with which this measure has hitherto been attended, the Community fund has gone on increasing in such a way that, notwithstanding the sums drawn from it for the purpose of constructing causeways, bridges, and other municipal objects, at the commencement of 1810, the stock in hand amounted to no less than 200,000 dollars; and it is natural to suppose when the outstanding premiums due shall have been paid in, a considerable augmentation will take place. This branch, although not exactly comprehended in those which constitute the revenue of the government, has so obvious an analogy with that of tributes, that I have not deemed it any essential deviation from the order and method I have hitherto observed in this work, to introduce it in this place, as in itself it did not deserve to be classed under a distinct head.

Notwithstanding the truth of what has been said with regard to the moderate rate of the tribute imposed on the Indian of the Philippine Islands, it would be extremely desirable if he could be altogether exonerated from a charge which he bears with great repugnance, by

some other substitute being adopted, indirectly producing an equivalent compensation. In the first place, because the just motives of complaint would cease, caused not only by the tribute, but also the manner of its collection; and an end would then be put to those intrigues and extortions the district magistrates commit, under the title of zealous collectors of the king's revenue, and the power of a multitude of subaltern tyrants, comprehended under the denomination of chiefs of Indian clans, would then also fall to the ground; a power which, if now employed for the purpose of oppressing and trampling on the liberties of inferiors, might some day or other be converted into an instrument, dangerous and subversive of our preponderance in the country. In the second place, if, among all civilized nations a capitation tax is in itself odious, it must incontestably be much more so among those whose unlettered state, far from allowing them to know that the social order requires a certain class of sacrifices for its better preservation, makes them attribute exactions of this kind to an abuse of superiority. Hence are they led to consider these restraints as the symbols of their own slavery and degradation, as in fact the natives in these islands have ample reasons for doing, when the legal exemption of the whites is considered, without any other apparent

reason than the difference of colour. Independent of this, the substitute above alluded to would be extremely expedient, inasmuch as it would greatly simplify the plan of administration, the accountant's department would be freed from the most painful part of its labours, and the district magistrates and sub-collectors would not so frequently be entangled in their accounts, and exposed to expensive and interminable law-suits, as now so often happens.

The difficulty, however, of finding out this compensation or substitute is matter of some consideration. On the one hand, if it was attempted to distribute the proceeds arising out of the tributes on other branches, such as tobacco, country wine, *bonga*, and custom house, it would, at first sight, appear possible, through the medium of an almost invisible augmentation in the respective sale prices and in the king's duties, that this important object might easily be attained; but, on the other, it might be apprehended that the additional value put on the articles above-mentioned, would produce in their consumption a diminution equal to the difference in prices, in which case no advantage would be gained. The practicability of the operation, in my opinion, depends on the proportion in which the means of obtaining the articles in question respectively stand with the probability of their being con-

sumed. I will explain myself. If, for example, the annual stock of tobacco laid in should be insufficient to meet the wants of the consumers, as constantly occurs, it is clear that this article, when monopolized, will bear a small augmentation of price, not only without any inconvenience or risk, but with the moral certainty of obtaining a positive increase of revenue, the necessary effect of the total consumption of the tobacco laid in and sold. But as this does not happen with the branch of country wines, of which the stock usually exceeds the demand, and as the *bonga* also is not susceptible of this improvement, owing to the small place it occupies among the other resources of the revenue, no other means are left than to add to the duties of export on silver, and of import on foreign merchandise, a per centage equivalent to the deficiency not laid on tobacco, unless it should be deemed more advisable to levy a sumptuary contribution on coaches, horses and servants, and especially on all kinds of edifices and houses built of stone and mortar, situated both within and without the capital.

However this may be, whatever the king loses in revenue by the abolition of the Indian tributes, no doubt, could be made up by an appeal to other ways and means. It is well known that many of the Indian tribes refuse to become sub-

jects of the crown and object to enter into general society, on account of the odious idea they have formed of paying tribute; or, as they understand it, the obligation of giving something for nothing, notwithstanding those who voluntarily submit themselves to our laws, are exempt from tribute, and this charge falls only on their descendants. But of this they must either be ignorant, or they regret depriving their posterity of that independence in which they themselves have been brought up, and thus transmit to them slavery as an inheritance. As soon, therefore, as a general exemption of this kind, without distinction of casts, should be made public, the Indians would quit their fastnesses and secluded places, and satisfied with the security offered to them, would be seen coming down to the plains in search of the conveniences of civilized life, and all gradually would be reduced to Christianity. Hence the increase of productions and their consumption, as well as the extension of agriculture, industry, and internal commerce. The diminution of smuggling tobacco would soon follow, progress would be made in the knowledge of the mines and natural riches of the country, and finally, greater facilities would present themselves in gradually carrying into effect its entire conquest and civilization.

Advantages of such great and extraordinary importance deserve to be seriously weighed, and to this valuable department of public administration the early attention of those in authority ought to be called. Let due enquiries be made, and soon shall we discover the substantial benefits which would be derived to the treasury from the adoption of this measure, as popular as it is just, and also conformable to the enlightened and liberal spirit of the times. In support of the preceding arguments, it ought further to be observed, that when all the branches constituting the king's revenue are well organized, brought to their most productive state, and the public debt contracted under unforeseen exigencies paid off, as long as present circumstances do not vary, an annual surplus of revenue, equal to more than 500,000 dollars, will be left; and as the proceeds of the particular branch of tributes do not amount to this sum, it is evident their abolition may take place, not only without any derangement or onerous consequences to the administration, but even without any deficiency being experienced, or any necessity to recur to the treasury of New Spain for extraordinary aid. These reasons acquire still greater force when it is remembered that, as things now are, all the branches of public revenue are in a progressively improving condition, and as the whole

are still susceptible of a much more productive organization, the annual surplus of receipts will rapidly become greater, and consequently also, the necessity will diminish of continuing to burden this portion of his Majesty's dominions with contributions, in order to meet the expenses of their defence and preservation.

Finally, well convinced of the advantageous results which, in every sense, would emanate from the revision and reforms proposed, I abstain from offering, in support of my arguments, a variety of other reflections which occur to me, not to be too diffuse on this subject; trusting that the hints I have already thrown out will be more than sufficient to excite an interest and promote a thorough and impartial investigation of concerns, highly important to the future welfare and security of this colony.

SUBALTERN BRANCHES.—Besides the six preceding branches which constitute the chief mass of the public revenue in these islands, there are several smaller ones of less consideration and amount; some having a direct application to the general expences of the local government, and the others, intended as remittances to Spain; a distinction of little import and scarcely deserving of notice, since the object of the present sketch is to convey information on a large scale respecting the King's revenue in these islands.

As some of them, however, yield proceeds more regular than others, I have classed together the receipts of the Pope's Bulls, or *Bulas de Cruzada*, playing-cards, tythes, stamps and gunpowder, under the head of Subaltern Branches, referring, with regard to the rest, to the general statement already quoted and found in Table, N°. VI.

In conformity to the returns with which I have been favoured from the public offices, these five branches produced, in the year 1809, 45,090 dollars, 3 rials, in the following proportions.

	Sales.	Expences.	Nett Proceeds.
Pope's bulls	15,360 6	4422 2	10,938 4
Playing cards	11,539 1	932 5	10,606 4
Tythes - -	12,493 0	- - - -	12,493 0
Stamps - -	4,467 4	321 4	4,146 0
Gunpowder -	7,307 5	401 1	6,906 3
Dollars	51,168 1	6077 6	45,090 3

The scanty proceeds of the tythes will naturally appear remarkable; but it ought to be remembered that, besides their ordinary tribute, the natives pay half a rial under this denomination, without any distinction of persons, or any reference whatever to their respective means, the

total amount of which is already added to the tributes, and for this reason not repeated in this place. In addition also no tythes are levied, except on lands belonging to Spaniards, churches, regular clergy, ecclesiastical corporations, &c. and even then the articles of rice, wheat, pulse, indigo and sugar, are alone liable. The above branches are all in charge of administrators, and from this plan it certainly would be advisable to separate the tythes and farm them out at public auction, as was proposed by the king's officers of the treasury, in their report on this, as well as other points, concerning the revenue, and dated 24th October, 1792. From the nett proceeds of the gunpowder the expences of its manufacture, confided to the commandant of artillery, ought seemingly to be deducted; but, as they cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty, and as besides they are comprehended in the general expences of that department, a separate deduction may be dispensed with.

DISBURSEMENTS AND GENERAL EXPENCES. —In order to form a correct idea of the annual amount of the expenditure incurred by the administration and defence of the Philippine Islands, it is not necessary in this place to distinguish each item, separately; or to enumerate them with their respective sums or particular denominations, as will be found stated in Table,

N°. X. Some general observations on this subject ought, nevertheless, to be made, with a view to point out the reforms of which this important department of the public revenue is susceptible.

In the part relating to the interior administration or government, ample room is certainly left for that kind of economy arising out of the adoption of a general system, little complicated; but it is besides indispensably necessary that, at the same time the work is simplified and useless hands dismissed, the salaries of those who remain should be proportionably increased, in order to stimulate them in the due performance of their duties. It might also be found advisable to create a small number of officers of a superior order, who would be enabled to co-operate in the collection of the king's revenue, and the encouragement of agriculture, commerce and navigation, in their respective departments. The additional charges in this respect cannot be of any great consequence; although, in reality, by the receipts increasing through the impulse of an administrative order more perfect, and the expences being always the same, the main object, so anxiously sought for in another way, would be thus attained.

The reverse, however, happens with regard to the expences of defence, as I have called them, the better to distinguish them from those purely

relating to the interior police or administration. Every sacrifice, most assuredly, ought to appear small, when the object is to preserve a country from falling into the hands of an enemy, and hence it ought not to excite surprise, if, during the course of the last fifteen years, several millions of dollars have been expended in the Philippines, in order to shield them from so dreadful a misfortune. But the late memorable revolution in the Peninsula has given rise to so great a change in our political relations, and it is so extremely improbable that these islands will be again exposed to the same danger and alarm, that the government may now, without any apparent risk, dispense with a considerable part of the preparations of defence, at one time deemed indispensably necessary. A colony that has no other strong place to garrison than its capital, and on the loyalty of whose inhabitants there are sufficient motives to rely, ought, in my opinion, to be considered as adequately provided against all ordinary occurrences in time of peace, with the 4000 regulars, more or less, of all arms, the usual military establishment. In case any suspicions should arise of an early rupture with the only power whose forces can inspire the governors of these islands with any kind of apprehensions, means will not be wanting to an active and provident minister, of giving proper ad-

vice, so as to allow sufficient time for the assembling of the battalions of provincial militia and all the other necessary preparations of defence, before the enemy is in an attitude to effect an invasion of a country so far distant from his own possessions on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. Consequently, by disbanding the corps of provincial infantry, cavalry and artillery, which continue uselessly to be kept on foot, an annual saving of from 220 to 250,000 dollars would take place, an amount too great to be expended, unless imperiously called for by the evident dread of a premeditated attack from an hostile quarter.

The navy is another of the departments in which reforms may be introduced, of no small moment to the treasury. Of course, by the government merely dispensing with the policy of keeping in readiness two large ships to convey to Acapulco the cargos, for which the Manilla merchants enjoy an annual licence, and leaving to the latter the full liberty of following up their speculations on their own account and risk, in vessels of their own, individually or with joint stock, a saving would result in favour of the crown equal to 140 or 150,000 dollars per annum, and without preventing the receipt in Acapulco of the customary duties of 160 or 166,000 dollars, corresponding to the said licences. This

will evidently be the case, because as long as the large disposable funds of the charitable institutions are employed in maritime risks, and the private property of others is besides added to them, the amount of the operations undertaken by the merchants of the Philippines to New Spain, when divested of all restraint, will always exceed 500,000 dollars per annum. Nor is there now any further occasion for the government to continue granting this species of gratuitous tutelage to a body of men possessed of ample means to manage their own affairs, and who demand the same degree of freedom, and only seek a protection similar to that enjoyed by their fellow-countrymen in other parts of the king's dominions.

In case the above reform should be adopted, it might be deemed requisite for government to undertake the payment of some part of the charges under the existing order of things, defrayed out of the freights to which the merchandise shipped in the Acapulco traders is liable; because, calculating this freight at the usual rate of 200 dollars for each three bales, or the amount of one ticket, out of the one thousand constituting the entire cargo, and of which one half, or 100,000 dollars, more or less, is appropriated to the ecclesiastical chapter, municipality, officers of the regular army (excluding captains and the other higher ranks) and the widows of

Spaniards, who in this case would be losers, independent of the remaining 100,000 dollars, or 500 tickets distributed among the 200 persons having a right to ship to Acapulco, it would, at first sight, appear reasonable for the treasury, to indemnify the above description of persons by a compensation, equivalent to the privation they experience through the new arrangements of the government. But as the practice of abuses constitutes no law, and what is given through favour is different to that which is required by justice, there are no reasons whatever why the treasury should be bound to support the widows of private persons, from the mere circumstance of their deceased husbands having been Spaniards; more particularly if it is considered that, far from having acquired any special merit during their lifetime, most of them voluntarily left their native country for the purpose of increasing their fortunes, and others were banished from it, owing to their bad conduct. Neither can it be said that the municipality have a legal right, in the case before stated, to receive any equivalent for the value of their respective annual tickets, which, when disposed of, usually amount to about 20,000 dollars; in the first place, because it is well known that the eleven aldermens' seats, of which that body is composed, seats which can either be sold or resigned, originally did not cost as much as 50,000 dollars, and clearly the

principal invested is out of all kind of proportion with the enormous premium or income claimed. In the second place, although the above municipal situations were originally purchased with a view to obtain some advantages, these formerly were very different to what they are at present, when the great increase of shippers to Acapulco, or in more plain terms, of purchasers of tickets competing to obtain them, has given to these permits a value more than triple to that they possessed thirty years ago.

In order, therefore, to do away with all motives of doubt and dispute, as well as for many other reasons of public utility, the best plan, in my opinion, would be, to return to each alderman his money, and the present municipal constitution being dissolved, the number of members might be reduced to four, with their corresponding registrar, and like the two ordinary *alcaldes*, elected every year without any other reward than the honour of presiding over and representing their fellow-citizens*. Under this supposi-

* The defective system here complained of, is now remedied by the reestablishment of the Constitution. By the 310th and following articles of the latter it is ordained, that every town containing 1000 souls, shall have a municipality, and the law is to determine the number of members, according to the population. The members are to be elected by the towns and perpetual seats abolished. The month of December is the period

tion, the only classes entitled to a compensation, strictly speaking, would be the ecclesiastical chapter and the subaltern officers, whose respective pay and appointments are not in fact sufficient for the decency and expences of their rank in society. Of course it would then be necessary to grant them more adequate allowances, but, according to reasonable calculations, the sum total annually required would not exceed 30,000 dollars; consequently, the reform projected with regard to the Acapulco ships, would still eventually produce to the treasury a saving of from 60 to 70,000 dollars in the first year of its adoption, and of 110 to 120,000 in every succeeding one.

It is, on the other hand, undeniable that, if the royal navy and cruising vessels, or those belonging to the islands and under the immediate orders of the captain-general, were united into one department, and placed under one head, considerable economy would ensue, and all motives of discord and emulation be moreover

---

fixed for the elections, in which the residents have a vote, and the members and their officers elected, commence their functions on the succeeding 1st of January, in each year. The *alcalde* or mayor, is to be changed every year, and the *regidors*, or aldermen, in the proportion of one half also every year, and to have a seat they must be thirty-five years of age.—Tr.

removed. Such would be the case, if the change was attended with no other circumstances than the consequent diminution of commanders, subaltern officers, and clerks; but it would be also proper to unite the arsenals, and adopt a more general uniformity in the operations and dependences of this part of the public service. It is equally certain that, during peaceful times, the two schooners and sixty gun-boats, constituting the number of the above-mentioned cruising vessels, would be in great measure useless; whilst in case of a rupture, they are not sufficient to protect the trade of these islands from the attacks of an enemy, notwithstanding they now cost the government considerable sums in repairs, &c. in order to keep them fit for service. The government ought therefore to guard against this waste of public money, without, however, neglecting the defence of the islands, objects which, in my opinion, might easily be reconciled. Intelligent persons have judged, that by reducing the naval forces to two frigates, two schooners, and about a dozen of gun-boats, the essential wants of the colony would be duly answered, in ordinary times; and some of the vessels might then be destined to pursue hydrographical labours in the Archipelago, which unfortunately are in a most backward state, whilst others could be sent on their

periodical cruises against the Moors. By this means, at least, the navy department would be greatly simplified, and cease to be uselessly burdensome to the government. With regard to the superfluous gun-boats, it would be expedient to distribute them gratuitously among the marine provinces and Bisayas Islands, on the only condition of their being always kept fit for service; as, in one sense, the great expences of maintaining them would be thus saved by the treasury, and, in another, the inhabitants of those portions of the coast would be in possession of means sufficiently powerful to repel the aggressions of the Moors, who commit great ravages on their settlements. Finally, if besides the reforms of which the army and navy are susceptible, it is considered that the public works, such as prisons, schools, bridges and causeways, so expensive in other countries, in the Philippines are constructed by the natives on the most reasonable terms, out of the community funds; that there is no necessity to build fortifications, and maintain numerous garrisons; that the clergy, to whose zeal and powerful influence the preservation of these islands is chiefly due, do not cost the treasury annually above 200,000 dollars, and that the geographical situation of the colony in great measure shields it from the attacks of external enemies, it will readily be confessed,

that a wise and firm government might undertake, without the dread of having to encounter any very great obstacles, an administrative system, in a general point of view, infinitely more economical than the one hitherto followed; might be able to extirpate numerous abuses, and by calling forth the resources of the country, gradually raise it to a flourishing condition, and cause it hereafter to contribute largely to the other wants of the crown. Hence was it that the distinguished voyager, La Peyrouse (Chap. 15), contemplating these islands with a political eye, did not hesitate to affirm, "that a powerful nation, possessed of no other colonies than the Philippines, that should succeed in establishing there a form of government best adapted to their advantageous circumstances, would justly disregard all the other European establishments in Africa and America."

CHAP. VI.

Of the civil Administration and Government of the Provinces.

In our colonies, appointments and command, far from being sought as a means to obtain a good reputation, or as affording opportunities of contributing to public prosperity, are, it is too well known, only solicited with a view to amass wealth, and then retire for the purpose of enjoying it. Commercial pursuits being besides attended with so many advantages, that those only decline following them who are divested of money and friends; whilst the situations in the revenue are so few in number, compared with the many candidates who solicit them, that they are consequently well appointed, it follows that the excess left without occupation, besides being considerable, is generally composed of needy persons, and not the most suitable to exercise the delicate functions of collectors and magistrates in the provinces. From this class nevertheless the host of officers are usually taken who, under the name of collectors, surveyors and assessors of tributes, intervene in, or influence

the public administration. Owing to the variety and great number of persons emigrating to America, ample field, no doubt, is there left for selection, by which means the viceroys may frequently meet with persons suitable and adequate to the above trusts, if prudent steps are only taken; but in this respect the case is very different in the Philippines, where chance alone occasionally brings over an European Spaniard, unemployed or friendless. In these remote islands also, more than in any other quarter, people seek to live in idleness, and, as much as possible, without working, or much trouble. As long as hopes are entertained of doing something in the Acapulco speculations, every other pursuit is viewed with indifference, and the office of district or provincial magistrate is only solicited when all other resources have failed, or as a remedy against want. As the applicants for these situations are therefore not among the most select classes, it very frequently happens that they fall into extremely improper and unworthy hands.

It is in fact common enough to see a hairdresser or a lackey converted into a governor; a sailor or a deserter, transformed into a district magistrate, collector, or military commander of a populous province, without any other counsellor than his own crude understanding, or any other guide than his passions. Such a metamorphosis

would excite laughter in a comedy or farce; but, realized in the theatre of human life, it must give rise to sensations of a very different nature. Who is there that does not feel horror-struck, and tremble for the innocent, when he sees a being of this kind transferred from the yard-arm to the seat of justice, deciding, in the first instance, on the honour, lives, and property of a hundred thousand persons, and haughtily exacting the homage and incense of the spiritual ministers of the towns under his jurisdiction, as well as of the parish curates, respectable for their acquirements and benevolence, and who, in their own native places, would possibly have rejected as a servant the very man whom in the Philippines they are compelled to court and obey as a sovereign.

In vain do the laws ordain that such offices shall not be given away to attendants on governors and members of the high court of justice, for under pretext of the scarcity of Europeans experienced in the colony, means are found to elude the statute, by converting this plea into an exception in favour of this description of persons. By such important offices being filled in this manner, it is easy to conceive the various hardships to which many of the provinces and districts are exposed; nor can any amelioration be expected as long as this plan is persisted in

and the excesses of the parties go without punishment.

Independent, however, of the serious injuries and great errors persons of the class above described cannot fail to commit in the exercise of their functions, purely judicial, the consequences are still more lamentable of their inordinate avarice, and the tacit permission to satisfy it, granted to them by the government, under the specious title of a licence to trade. Hence may it be affirmed, that the first of the evils, and the one the Indian more immediately feels, is occasioned by the very person the law has destined for his relief and protection. In a word, he experiences injuries from the civil magistrates presiding over the provinces, who, at the same time, are the natural enemies of the inhabitants, and the real oppressors of their industry.

It is a known and melancholy fact that, far from promoting the felicity of the provinces intrusted to their care, the magistrates attend to nothing else but their own fortunes and personal interests; nor do they hesitate as to the means by which their object is to be attained. Scarcely are they seated in the place of authority, when they become the chief consumers, purchasers, and exporters of every thing produced and manufactured within the districts under their command, thus converting their licence to trade

into a positive monopoly. In all lucrative speculations the magistrate seeks to have the largest share; in all his enterprises he calls in the forced aid of his subjects, and if he deigns to remunerate their labour, at most it is only on the same terms as if they had been working on account of the king. These unhappy people bring in their produce and coarse manufactures to the very person who, directly or indirectly, is to fix upon them an arbitrary value. To offer such and such a price for the articles, is the same as to say, another bidding shall not be made. To insinuate, is to command—the Indian is not allowed to hesitate, he must either please the magistrate, or submit to his persecutions. Being besides free from all competition in the prosecution of his traffic, since he is frequently the only Spaniard resident in the province, the magistrate therein acts with unbounded sway, without dread, and almost without risk, of his tyranny ever being denounced to the superior tribunals.

In order, however, that a more correct idea may be formed of the iniquitous conduct of many of these public functionaries, it is necessary to lay open some part of their irregular dealings, in the collection of the Indian tributes. It is well known that the government, anxious to conciliate the interests of the tributary classes with those of the revenue, frequently commutes

the pecuniary capitation tax into an obligation to pay the amount in produce or manufactures. A season comes when, owing to the failure of the crops, the productions have risen to an excessive price, and consequently infinitely above the ordinary rates affixed by law, which are generally the lowest, and the Indians, unable to keep their bargains without considerable injury or endangering the subsistence of their numerous families, implore the favour of the magistrate, petitioning him to lay their calamitous situation before the superior government, in order to have the payment of their tribute in kind remitted, and offering to pay it in money. This is the precise moment when, as his own profits depend on the misery of the province under his command, he endeavours to misuse the accidental power with which he is invested. Hence it happens that, instead of acting as a beneficent mediator, and supporting the just solicitations of the natives, he at first disregards their petition, and then all at once transforming himself into a zealous collector, issues his notifications, sends his satellites into the very fields to seize on the produce, and in a most inexorable manner insists on collecting, till necessity compels him to suspend the measure. The principal object being attained, that is, having now become master of the gleanings and scanty crops of his

bereft subjects, on a sudden his disposition changes, he is moved to pity, and in the most pathetic language describes to the government the ravages done to the plantations by the hurricanes, and the utter impossibility of collecting in the tributes that year in kind. On such a remonstrance, he easily obtains permission to change the standing order, and proceeding on to collect in some of the remaining tributes in money, merely to save appearances, with perfect impunity he puts the finishing stroke to the wicked act he had commenced, by applying to himself all the produce his collectors had gathered in, and places to the credit of the treasury the total amount of the tributes, corresponding to his jurisdiction, in money.

Supposing, for example, that this has happened in the province of Antique, where the payment of the capitation-tax generally takes place in unhusked rice, rated at two rials per *cavan*, and, through the effects of a bad season, this article should rise as high as 10 or 12 rials. It is clear that the magistrate, by accounting for the tributes with the revenue office in money, and collecting them in kind at the rate fixed by law, would by the sales gain a profit of 4 or 500 per cent.; at the same time the Indian, by the mere circumstance of then paying in kind, would have paid the tribute corresponding to five or six years

in a single one, without, on that account, having freed himself from the same charge in the following seasons.

When such extortionate acts as these are practised, to what lengths may it not be expected the other excesses and abuses of authority are carried? To the above it ought moreover to be added, that the provincial magistrates have no lieutenants, and are unprovided with any other auxiliaries in the administration of justice, except an accompanying witness and an Indian director; that the scrutinies of their accounts, to which they formerly were subject, are now abolished, and, in short, that they have no check upon them, or indeed any other persons to bear testimony to their irregularities, except the friendless and miserable victims of their despotism and avarice.

Notwithstanding, however, what is above stated, it sometimes happens that a magistrate is to be met with, distinguished from the rest by his prudence and good conduct; but this is a miracle, for by the very circumstance of his being allowed full latitude to trade, he is placed in a situation to abuse the wide powers confided to him, and preferably to attend to his own personal interests; in fact, if the principle is in itself defective, it must naturally be expected the consequences will be equally baneful. The la-

mentable abuses here noticed are but too true, as well as many others passed over in silence; and the worst of all is, that there is no hope of remedying them thoroughly, unless the present system of interior administration is altogether changed. In vain would it be to allege the possibility of removing the evil by the timely and energetic interposition of the protector of the Indians; for although this office is in itself highly respectable, it cannot in any way reach the multitude of excesses committed, and much less prevent them; not only because the minister who exercises it resides in the city, where complaints are seldom brought in, unless they come through the channel of the parish curates; but also on account of the difficulty of fully establishing the charges against the magistrates, in the way the natives are at present depressed by fear and threats, as well as restrained by the sub-governors and other inferior officers of justice, who, being dependent upon, and holding their situations from the magistrates, are interested in their monopolies and extortionate acts being kept from public view.

If therefore it is not possible entirely to eradicate the vices under which the interior administration of these islands labours, owing to the difficulty of finding persons possessed of the necessary virtues and talents to govern, in an

upright and judicious manner, let us at least prevent the evils arising out of the too great condescension of our own laws. In the infancy of colonies, it has been the maxim of all governments to encourage the emigration and settlement of inhabitants from the mother-country, without paying much attention to the means by which this was to be done. It was not to be wondered at, for reasons of state, that defects were overlooked which, at such periods, were even deemed necessary. Hence that relaxation in the laws in favour of those who, quitting their native land, carried over with them to strange countries their property and acquirements. Hence, no doubt, also are derived the full powers granted to those who took in charge the subjection and administration of the new provinces, in order that they might govern, and at the same time carry on their traffic with the natives, notwithstanding the manifest incompatibility of the two occupations; or rather, the certainty that ought to have been foreseen that public duties would generally be postponed, when placed in competition with private interests, and the anxious desire of acquiring wealth.

Subsequently, that has happened which was, in fact, to be dreaded, viz. what at first was tolerated as a necessary evil, sanctioned by the

lapse of time, has at length become a legitimate right, or rather a compensation for the supposed trouble attached to the fulfilment of the duties of civil magistrates; whilst they, as already observed, think of nothing but themselves, and undergo no other trouble or inconvenience than usually fall to the lot of any other private merchant. In the Philippines, at least, many years having elapsed since the natives peaceably submitted to the dominion of the king, every motive has ceased that could formerly and in a certain degree, justify the indulgence so much abused, at the same time that no plausible pretext whatever exists for its further continuation.

Although hitherto the number of whites, compared to that of the people of colour, has not been great, as the whole of the provincial magistracies, collectorships, and subaltern governments, do not exceed 27, the scarcity of Spaniards ought not to be alleged as a sufficient reason; nor can it be doubted these situations might at any time be properly filled, if the persons on whom the choice should fall were only certain of living with decency and in a suitable manner, without being carried away with the flattering hopes of withdrawing from office, with 10, 20, and even as high as 50,000 dollars of property, as has heretofore been the case, but satisfied with

a due and equivalent salary they might receive as a reward for the public services they perform.

I do not therefore see why the government should hesitate in resolving to put a stop to evils which the people of the Philippines have not ceased to deplore, from the time of the conquest, by proscribing, under the most severe penalties, the power of trading, as now exercised by the provincial magistrates. The time is come when this struggle between duty and sordid interest ought to end, and reason, as well as enlightened policy, demand that in this respect our legislation should be reformed, in order that the mace of justice, instead of being prostituted in search of lucre, may henceforwards be wholly employed in the support of equity, and the protection of society.

The only objection which, at first sight, might be started against the suggestions here thrown out, is the increased expence which would fall on the treasury, owing to the necessity of appropriating competent salaries for the interior magistrates under the new order of things. Independent, however, of the fact that the rapid improvements the provinces must assume, in every point of view, would superabundantly make up this trifling difference; yet supposing the sacrifice were gratuitous, and even of some

moment, it ought not, on that account, to be omitted, since there is no public object more important to the sovereign himself, than to make the necessary provision for the decorum of the magistracy, the due administration of justice, and the maintenance of good order among his subjects.

The position being established, that a number of whites more than sufficient might be obtained, eligible and fit to perform the duties of civil magistrates, which they would be induced to undertake, if adequate terms were only proposed, it would seem that no ill consequences might be expected from at once assimilating the regulations of these provincial judicatures to those of the *corregimientos*, or mayoralties of towns in Spain, or in making out an express statute, on a triple scale, for three classes of magistrates, granting to them emoluments equivalent to the greater or lesser extent of the respective jurisdictions. As far as regards the pay, it ought to be so arranged as to act as a sufficient stimulus to induce European colonists to embrace this career, in a fixed and permanent way, which hitherto they have only resorted to as a five years' speculation. Conformably to this suggestion, and owing to the lesser value attached to money in India, compared with Europe, on account of the greater abundance of the neces-

saries of life, I am of opinion that it would be expedient to affix an annual allowance of 2000 dollars to each of the appointments of the six principal and most populous provinces; 1500 for the next in importance, and for the 12 or 13 remaining, at the rate of 1000 dollars each; leaving to the candidates the option of rising according to their length of services and good conduct, from the lowest to the highest, as is the case in Spain.

The first part of the plan above pointed out embraces two objects. The one is to prevent the provincial magistrates from carrying on traffic, thus depriving them of every pretext to defraud the natives of what is their own; and the other, to form, in the course of a few years, a class of men hitherto unknown in the Philippine Islands, who, taught by practice, may be enabled to govern the provinces in a more correct and regular manner, and acquire more extended knowledge, especially in the judicial proceedings of the first instance, which, owing to this defect, frequently compel the litigants to incur useless expences, and greatly embarrass the ordinary course of justice. Although the second part at first seems to involve an increased expence of 36 or 37,000 dollars annually, when well considered, this sum will be found not to exceed 20,000, because it will be necessary to deduct

from the above estimate the amount of three per cent. under the existing regulations, allowed to the magistrates for the collection of the Indian tributes, in their character of sub-delegates, generally amounting to 16 or 17,000 dollars; besides only taking into account such real and effective disbursements or extraordinary expences, as in fact they may legally have incurred in the performance of their duties.

Should it however be deemed expedient, from causes just in their nature, hereafter to exonerate the natives from the obligation of paying tributes, by which means the amount deducted for the three per cent. commission could not then be brought into account, let me be allowed to ask, what enlightened government would hesitate submitting to an additional expence of so trifling an import, in exchange for beholding more than two millions of men for ever freed from the extortionate acts of their old magistrates; and, through the effects of new regulations, the latter converted into real fathers of the people over whom they are placed? How different would then be the aspect these fine provinces would present to the eyes of the philosophical observer? who would, in that case, be able to calculate to what an extent the progress of agriculture and industry in these islands might be carried?

Nevertheless, I do not wish to insinuate that

by the better organization of the provincial governments, the present irregularities and abuses of authority would entirely cease; because I am aware, more especially in the Indies, that the persons who hold public situations usually have too exaggerated ideas of their own personal importance, and easily mistake the gratification of their own whims for firmness of character, and the necessity of causing themselves to be respected*. Still it is an incontestable fact that, by removing the chief temptation, and rescinding altogether the licence to trade, the just complaints preferred by the Indian against the Spaniard would cease; the motives of those continual disputes which arise between the magistrates and the ministers of the gospel exercising their functions in the same provinces, and the zealous defenders of the rights of their parishion-

* This defect is also remedied by the Constitution. By the 324th and following articles of the latter it is ordained, that the political government of the provinces is to reside in a superior chief named by the king, and a deputation. The latter is elected by the district electors, the day after they have named the deputies to the Cortes, and half changed every year. The superior, or political chief, presides over this deputation, assisted by the intendant of the province. This body levies the contributions, taxes, &c. and watches over their distribution. In short, they superintend the civil administration of the province.—Tr.

ers, would be removed, and the inhabitants of Manilla, extending their mercantile operations to the interior, without the dread of seeing them obstructed through the powerful competition of the magistrates in authority there, would be induced to settle in or connect themselves with the provinces, and thus diffuse their knowledge, activity and money among the inhabitants, the true means of encouraging the whole.

What has already been said will suffice to convince the lover of truth and the friend of general prosperity, how urgent it is to introduce, as early as possible, the reform proposed into the interior administration of this important, although neglected colony; and it is to be hoped that the government, guided by these same sentiments, will not be led away by those narrow-minded people, who predict danger from every thing that is new; but, after due and mature deliberation, resolve to adopt a measure dictated by reason, and at the same time conformable to the best interests of the state.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Spiritual Administration.

Of little avail would have been the valour and constancy with which Legaspi and his worthy companions overcame the natives of these islands, if the apostolic zeal of the missionaries had not seconded their exertions, and aided to consolidate the enterprise. The latter were the real conquerors; they who, without any other arms than their virtues, gained over the good will of the islanders, caused the Spanish name to be beloved, and gave to the king, as it were by a miracle, two millions more of submissive and Christian subjects. These were the legislators of the barbarous hordes who inhabited the islands of this immense Archipelago, realizing, by their mild persuasion, the allegorical prodigies of Amphion and Orpheus*.

* Whatever may have been the defects of the Jesuits, in other respects, much is due to their zeal and labours in the civilization of South America, more particularly in Paraguay and other countries situated between Buenos Ayres and Peru. With heroic courage, they formed the plan of settling among the most distant and secluded Indians, as the only means of

As the means the missionaries called in to their aid, in order to reduce and civilize the Indians,

---

effecting their purpose, and about the middle of the 17th century carried their scheme into execution. The missionaries went forth among men who were then living dispersed in the wilds, at war with each other, devouring their prisoners, and exercising acts of the most horrid vengeance. The first thing they taught them was to check their wandering and unsettled habits, by bringing them into society. They were then instructed to build dwellings with some order and symmetry; they became more tractable, and their numbers increased. At first, they were surprised and alarmed at the novelty of the doctrines laid before them; but, by persuasion and example, gradually lost their fierceness, and learnt how to live in peace. Enabled to make a contrast between their new state and the brutish life they had been accustomed to lead, the effect was favourable. They were induced to lay up provision of necessaries, and felt the advantages of being no longer dependent on precarious supplies. Thus was the foundation of agriculture laid among them, and besides being made acquainted with other serviceable grains, roots, &c. before unknown to them, they were also taught to appropriate those they previously possessed to other uses. In their illness, they were attended and relieved, and by degrees a feeling of gratitude succeeded to confidence. After numerous hardships and dangers, the greatest part of the interior country, above alluded to, was converted and civilized, without any other instruments than missionaries, as may be more particularly seen in Muratori's "Relation of the Missions of Paraguay," and this has been the plan uniformly adopted by Spain in the whole of her transmarine dominions, and it has always been found more efficient than the presence of large armies. The extraordinary success

were preaching and other spiritual labours, and, although scattered about and acting separately, they were still subject to the authority of their prelates, who, like so many chiefs, directed the grand work of conversion, the government primitively established in these colonies must necessarily have partaken greatly of the theocratical order, and beyond doubt it continued to be so, till, by the lapse of time, the number of colonists increased, as well as the effective strength of the royal authority, so as to render the governing system uniform with that established in the other ultramarine dominions of Spain.

This is also deduced from the fragments still remaining of the first constitution, or mode of government introduced in the Batanes Islands and missions of Cagayan, administered by the Dominican friars, in a spiritual and temporal manner; as well as from what may frequently be observed in the other provinces, by any one who bestows the smallest attention. Although the civil magistracies have since been regulated, and their respective attributes determined with

---

which attended the efforts of St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies, would exceed belief, if they were not authentically recorded, and the happy effects acknowledged by our own voyagers at the present day.—Tr.

due precision, it has not hitherto been possible, notwithstanding the pains taken to make the contrary appear, to do without the personal authority and influence the parish curates possess over their flocks. The government has, in fact, constantly been obligated to avail themselves of this aid, as the most powerful instrument to insure respect and a due subordination, in such manner that, although the parish curates are not at present equally authorized to interfere in the civil administration, in point of fact, they are themselves the real administrators.

It happens that, as the parish curate is the consoler of the afflicted, the peacemaker of families, the promoter of useful ideas, the preacher and example of every thing good; as in him liberality is seen to shine, and the Indians behold him alone in the midst of them, without relatives, without traffic, and always busied in their care and improvement, they become accustomed to live satisfied and contented under his paternal direction, and deliver up to him the whole of their confidence. In this way rendered the master of their wishes, nothing is done without the advice, or rather consent, of the curate. The subaltern governor, on receiving an order from the superior magistrate, before he takes any step, goes to the minister to obtain his sanction, and it is he in fact who tacitly gives

the mandate for execution, or prevents its being carried into effect. As the father of his flock, he arranges, or directs, the lawsuits of his parishioners; it is he who draws out their writings; goes to the capital to plead for the Indians; opposes his prayers, and sometimes his threats, to the violent acts of the provincial magistrates, and manages every thing in the most fit and quiet manner. In a word, it is not possible for any human institution to be more simple, and at the same time more firmly established, or from which so many advantages might be derived in favour of the state, as the one so justly admired in the spiritual ministry of these islands. It may therefore be considered a strange fatality, when the secret and true art of governing a colony, so different from any other as is that of the Philippines, consists in the wise use of so powerful an instrument as the one just described, that the superior government, within the last few years, should have been so much deluded as to seek the destruction of a work which, on the contrary, it is, above all others, advisable to sustain.

In this, as well as many other cases, we see how difficult, or rather how absurd it is, to expect to organize a system of government, indistinctly adapted to the genius and disposition of all nations, however great the discordance be-

vailing in their physical and moral constitutions. Hence it follows that, by wishing to assimilate the administrative plan of these provinces to the one adopted in the sections of America, inconveniences are unceasingly met with, evidently arising out of this erroneous principle. Whatever may be asserted to the contrary, there is no medium. It is necessary to insure obedience either through dread and force, or respect must be excited by means of love and confidence. In order to be convinced that the first is not practicable, it will only be necessary to weigh well the following circumstances and reflections.

The number of the whites compared to that of the natives is so small, that it can scarcely be estimated in the proportion of 15 to 25,000. These provinces, infinitely more populous than those of America, are entirely delivered up to the charge of provincial magistrates, who carry with them to the seats of their respective governments, no other troops than the title of military commandants, and their royal commission on parchment. Besides the friars, it sometimes happens that no other white person is to be found in an entire province, but the presiding magistr . . It is the duty of the latter to collect in the king's revenue; to pursue robbers; appe tumults; raise men for the regiments in g son at Manilla and Cavite; regulate and

head his people in case of an external invasion, and, in short, it is he who is to do every thing in the character of magistrate and in the name of the king. Considering, therefore, the effective power required for the due performance of so great a variety of duties, and the want of that species of support experienced by him who is charged with them, can it be denied that it would be risking the security of these dominions too much, to attempt forcibly to control them with means so insufficient? If the inhabitants become tumultuous and rise up, on whom will the magistrate call for aid to repress and punish them? In such a predicament, is any other alternative left him than to fly or die in the struggle? If among civilized nations, it is deemed indispensable that authority should always appear accompanied with force, how can it be expected, among Indians, that the laws will otherwise be respected, when left naked and unsupported?

Evidently, it is necessary to appeal to aid of another kind, and to employ means, which, although indirect ones, are, beyond all dispute, the best adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the country, means which, by influencing the mind, excite veneration, subdue the rude understanding of the inhabitants, and incline them to bear our dominion without repugnance. It is well

understood what these means are, how much they are at hand, and how greatly also they have always been envied by other European nations, who have sought to extend and consolidate their conquests in both the Indies. Let us listen to La Perouse, if we wish to know and admire the army with which our missionaries subdued the natives of both Californias;" let us read, dispassionately, the wonderful deeds of the Jesuits in other parts of America, and above all, let us visit the Philippine Islands and, with astonishment, shall we there behold extended ranges, studded with temples and spacious convents; the Divine worship celebrated with pomp and splendour; regularity in the streets, and even luxury in the houses and dress; schools of the first rudiments in all the towns, and the inhabitants well versed in the art of writing. We shall there see causeways raised, bridges of a good architecture built, and, in short, all the measures of good government and police, in the greatest part of the country, carried into effect, yet the whole is due to the exertions, apostolic labours and pure patriotism of the ministers of religion. Let us travel over the provinces, and we shall there see towns of 5, 10, and 20,000 Indians, peacefully governed by one weak old man, who, with his doors open at all hours, sleeps quiet and secure in his dwelling, without any other magic, or any

other guards, than the love and respect with which he has known how to inspire his flock. And, when this is contemplated, can it be deemed possible, through foolish jealousy and a vain wish for those persons only pointed out by the general laws in ordinary cases, to intervene in the government of the natives, that the fruits of so much time and constancy are not only to be lost, but also by hereafter disregarding and rejecting a co-operation, as efficient as it is economical, that attempts should purposely be made to destroy the main-spring of the whole of this political machine?

Such, nevertheless, are the mistaken ideas which, within the last few years, have unhappily led to the adoption of measures, diametrically opposed to the public interest, under the pretext of curtailing the excessive authority of the parish-curates. The superior government, not satisfied with having deprived the ministers of the faculty of personally prescribing certain correctional punishments, which, although of little moment, when applied with discretion, greatly contributed to fortify their ascendancy, and consequently, that of the sovereign; but, in order to exclude and divest them of all intervention in the civil administration, a direct attempt has also been made to lower the esteem in which they are held, by awakening the distrust of the Indian, and, as

much as possible, removing him to a greater distance from them. In proof of this, and in order that what has been said may not be deemed an exaggeration, it will suffice to quote the substance of two regulations, remarkable for their obvious tendency to weaken the influence and credit of the spiritual administrators.

By one of these, it is enacted that, in order to prevent the abuses and notorious malversation of the funds of the sanctuary, specially applicable to the expences of the festivities and worship of each parish, and arising out of the rial and half for this purpose contributed by each tributary person, and collected and privately administered by the curate, the same shall hereafter be kept in a chest with three keys, and lodged in the head-town of each province. The keys are to be left, one in possession of the chief magistrate, another in the hands of the governor of the respective town, and the remaining one with the parish-curate.—By the other measure it is declared, as a standing rule, that no Indian, who may lately have been employed in the domestic service of the curate, shall in his own town be considered eligible to any office belonging to the judicial department*.

* Misunderstandings between the constituted authorities and the persons to whom the spiritual care of the natives was

On measures of this kind, comments are unnecessary; their meaning and effect cannot be mistaken. I shall, therefore, merely observe, that no untimely means could have been devised more injurious to the state, to the propagation of religion, and even to the natives themselves.

---

intrusted, have not been unfrequent in the several governments of Spanish America. In my possession is a curious remonstrance, addressed to Viceroy Gil de Lemos, by the Bishop of Cusco, dated the 10th August, 1791, respecting the parochial fees payable by the Indians to their curates, which had been suspended in Peru, in cases of baptism, marriage and burials. The bishop undertakes to prove the impolicy of the measure, and describes the painful effects it had produced in the provinces, where the clergy were thereby deprived of the chief resources of their subsistence, and reduced to the utmost want. It would seem that a regulation to this effect was attempted by the Duke de la Palata, whilst Viceroy of Peru, in 1684, as a relief to the Indians, but it was subsequently withdrawn, and the wish to revive it, commenced in 1790. The bishop goes into a long review of all the decrees of the government, respecting this contested question, quotes the authority of various Councils in support of the practice, and concludes that it must be continued, or the government make provision for men whose only care and occupation was the superintendence of their flocks, to whose labours the country was so much indebted, and who would otherwise be compelled to abandon their posts. At length it was determined, that the Indians should continue to pay fees, when they availed themselves of the spiritual ministry of their pastors; but this dispute had nearly produced very serious consequences.—Tr.

It is, in fact, a most strange affair, that such endeavours should have been made to impeach the purity, by at the same time degrading the respectable character of the parish-curates, more particularly at a period when, owing to mortality and the scarcity of religious men, it would have seemed more natural to uphold, and by new inducements encourage the zeal and authority of the remaining few. This step appears the more singular, I repeat, at a moment when, neither by suspending the sending out of missionaries to China, and the almost entire abandonment of the spiritual conquest of the Igorrots and other infidel tribes, inhabiting the interior of these islands, have the above Spanish labourers been able to carry on the ordinary administration, nor prevent entire provinces from being transferred, as is now the case, into the hands of Indian and Mestizo clergymen of the Sangley race, who, through their great ignorance, corrupt morals, and total want of decorum, universally incur the contempt of the flocks committed to their care, and in consequence of their tyrannical conduct, cause the people to sigh for the mild yoke of their ancient pastors.

If, therefore, it is the wish of government to retain the subjection of this colony, and raise it to the high degree of prosperity of which it is susceptible, the first thing, in my opinion, that

ought to be attended to is, the good organization of its spiritual administration. On this subject we must not deceive ourselves. I again repeat, that as long as the local government, in consequence of the want of military forces, and owing to the scarcity of Europeans, does not in itself possess the means of insuring obedience, no other alternative remains. It is necessary to call in to its aid the powerful influence of religion, and to obtain from the Peninsula fresh supplies of missionaries. As in their nature the latter are essentially different from other public functionaries, it is well known they neither seek nor aspire to any remuneration for their labours, their only hope being to obtain, in the opinion of the community at large, that degree of respect to which they justly consider themselves entitled. Let, therefore, their pre-eminences be retained to them; let them be treated with decorum; the care and direction of the Indians confided to their charge, and they will always be found united in support of justice and the legitimate authority.

Nothing is more unjust, and of nothing have the spiritual directors of the provinces so much reason to complain, than the little discernment with which they have sometimes been judged and condemned, by causing the misconduct of some of their individual members to affect the whole body. Hence is it that no one can read without

shame and indignation, the insidious suggestions and allusions, derogatory to their character, contained in the Regulations of Government, framed at Manilla, in the year 1768, and which, although modified by orders of the king, are at the present moment still in force, owing to the want of others, and found in a printed form in the hands of every one. Granting that in some particular instances, real causes of complaint might have existed, yet in the end what does it matter if here and there a religious character has abused the confidence reposed in him, as long as the spirit by which the generality of them are actuated, corresponds to the sanctity of their state, and is besides conformable to the views of government? Why should we be eternally running after an ideal perfection, which can never be met with? nor indeed is this necessary in the present construction of society.

If, however, any weight is to be attached to impostures with which, from personal motives, attempts have been made to obscure the truth, and prejudice the public mind against the regular clergy; or, if the just defence on which I have entered, should be attributed to partiality or visionary impressions, let the Archives of the Colonial Department be opened, and we shall there find the report drawn up by order of the king on the 25th of November, 1804, by the

Governor of the Philippine Islands, Don Rafael Maria de Aguilar, with a view to convey information regarding the enquiries at that time instituted respecting the reduction of the inhabitants of the Island of Mindoro; a report extremely honourable to the regular clergy, and dictated by the experience that General had acquired during a period of more than twelve years he had governed. Therein also will be seen the answer to the consultation addressed to his successor in the command, Don Mariano Fernandes de Folgueras, under date of 25th April, 1809, in which he most earnestly beseeches the king to endeavour, by every possible means, to send out religious missionaries; deploring the decline and want of order he had observed with his own eyes in the towns administered by Indian clergymen, and pointing out the urgent necessity of intrusting the spiritual government of these provinces to the dexterous management of the former. Testimonies of such weight are more than sufficient at once to refute the calumnies and contrary opinions put forth on this subject, and at the same time serve as irrefragable proofs of the scrupulous impartiality with which I have endeavoured to discuss so delicate a matter.

Having, in a general point of view, alluded to the erroneous system, within the last few years,

pursued by government with regard to the parish-curates employed in the interior, and also sufficiently pointed out the advantages reasonably to be expected, if the government, acting on a different policy, or rather guided by other motives of state, and instead of following the literal text of our Indian legislation, should come to the firm determination of indirectly divesting themselves of a small portion of their authority in favour of the religious labourers who are acting on the spot. Having said thus much, I shall proceed to such further details as are more immediately connected with the present chapter.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction is exercised by the metropolitan archbishop of Manilla, aided by the three suffragans of New Segovia, New Caceres, and Zebu.

The archbishopric of Manilla comprehends the provinces of Tondo, Bolacan, Pampanga, Bataan, Cavite, Laguna de Bay, Zambales, Batangas, and the Island of Mindoro.

The bishopric of New Segovia comprehends the province of Pangasinan, the missions of Ituy and Paniqui, the provinces of Ilocos, Cagayan, and the missions of the Batanes islands.

That of New Caceres comprehends the provinces of Tayabas, New Ecija, Camarines and Albay.

That of Zebu comprehends the islands of Zebu and Bohol, Iloilo, Capis and Antique, in the Island of Panay, the Islands of La Paragua, Negros and Samar, Misamis, Caraga and Zamboanga in that of Mindanao and the Marianas Islands.

The archbishop has a salary of 5000 dollars, and the bishops 4000 each. The curacies exceed 500, and although all of them primitively were in charge of persons belonging to the religious orders, owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits and the excessive scarcity of regular clergy, so many Indian priests have gradually been introduced among them, that, at present, nearly half the towns are under their direction. The rest are administered by the religious orders of St. Augustine, St. Dominic and St. Francis, in the following manner.

The Augustins	- -	88 towns.
The barefooted do.	-	52 do.
The Dominicans	-	57 do.
The Franciscans	-	96 do.
Total		293 towns.

It ought, however, to be observed, that since the detailed statement contained in Table, N°. XI. was made out, and from which the above extract has been taken, so many members of the

religious orders have died, that it has been necessary to replace them in many towns with Indian clergymen, as a temporary expedient, and till new missionaries shall arrive from Spain.

The monastic curates are immediately subject to their provincial superior, in the character of friars, but depend on the diocesan bishop in their quality of parish priests; and in like manner obey their own provincial vicars, as well as those of the bishop. They are alternately eligible to the dignities of their own order, and generally promoted, or relieved from their ministry, at the discretion of the provincial chapter, or according to the final determination of the vice-patron or bishop, affixed to the triple list presented to him. Besides the ordinary obligations attached to the care of souls, they are enjoined to assist at the elections of governors and other officers of justice, in their respective towns, in order to inform the chief magistrate respecting the aptitude of the persons proposed for election on the triple lists, and to point out the legal defects attributable to any of them. On this account, they are not, however, allowed to interfere in the smallest degree with any of these proceedings, and much less make a formal proposal, as most assuredly would be advisable if permitted so to do, in favour of any particular person or persons, in their opinion fit for the dis-

charge of the abovementioned duties. It is their obligation to ascertain the correctness of the tribute lists, presented to them for their examination and signature by the chiefs of clans, by carefully comparing them with the registers kept in their own department; and also to certify the general returns, without which requisite the statements, transmitted by the chief magistrates to the accountant-general's office, are not admitted. Above all, they are bound to affix their signatures to the effective payments made by the magistrate to their parishioners on account of daily labour, and the value of materials employed in public works. Besides the above, they are continually called upon to draw up circumstantial reports, or declarations, required by the superior tribunals; they receive frequent injunctions to co-operate in the increase of the king's revenue and the encouragement of agriculture and industry; in a word, there is scarcely a thing to which their attention is not called, and to which it is not expected they should contribute by their influence, directly or indirectly.

The royal treasury pays them an annual allowance equal to 180 dollars, in kind and money, for each 500 tributes under their care, and this, added to the emoluments of the church, renders the total proceeds of a curacy generally equivalent to about from 6 to 8 rials for each en-

tire tribute; but from this allowance are to be deducted the expences of coadjutors, subsistence, servants, horses, and all the other charges arising out of the administration of such wearisome duties; nor are the parishioners under any other obligation than to provide the churches with assistants, or sacristans and singers, and the curates with provisions at tariff prices.

Finally, as from what has been above stated it would appear, that as many as 500 religious persons are necessary for the spiritual administration of the interior towns and districts, besides the number requisite to do the duty and fill the dignities of the respective orders and convents in the capital, independent of which there ought to be a proportionate surplus, applicable to the progressive reduction of the infidel tribes inhabiting the uplands, as well as the preaching of the gospel in China and Cochinchina, most assuredly, it would be expedient to assemble and keep together a body of no less than 700 persons, if it is the wish of the government, on a tolerable scale, to provide for the wants of these remote missions. At the present moment, the number does not exceed 300, including superannuated, exempt from service, and lay-brothers, whilst the Indian clergymen in effective possession of curacies, and including substitutes, coadjutors and weekly preachers, exceed 1000.

And as the latter, in general unworthy of the priesthood, are rather injurious than really serviceable to the state, it could not be deemed unjust if they were altogether deprived of the dignity of parish curates, and only allowed to exercise their functions in necessary cases, or by attaching them to the curacies in the quality of coadjutors. By this plan, at the same time that the towns would be provided with suitable and adequate ministers, the Indian clergymen would be distributed in a proper manner, and, placed near the religious persons charged to officiate, would acquire the necessary knowledge and decorum, and in the course of time might obtain character and respect among their countrymen.

To many, a measure of this kind may, in some respects, appear harsh and arbitrary; but persons, practically acquainted with the subject and country, will deem it indispensable, and the only means that can be resorted to, in order to stop the rapid decline remarkable in this interesting department of public administration. Fortunately, no grounded objections can be alleged against it; nor is there any danger of serious consequences resulting from the plan being carried into due effect. In vain would it be to argue that, if the reform is to take place, a large number of priests would be reduced to

beggary, owing to the want of occupation; because, as things now stand, many of the religious curates employ three or four coadjutors, and no doubt, they would then gladly undertake to make provision for the remainder of those who may be thrown out of employment. On the other hand, with equal truth it may be observed, that the inhabitants of the interior, far from regretting, or taking part on behalf of the Indian clergy, would celebrate, as a day of gladness and rejoicing, the removal of the latter, and the return of their beloved Castilian Fathers.

In case the ideas above suggested should be adopted in all their parts, it may be proper to add, that an injunction ought to be laid on the reverend bishops in future to confer holy orders with more scrupulosity and economy, than, unfortunately, heretofore has been the case; by representing to them that, if, at certain periods the Popes have been influenced by powerful reasons, not to insist on ordinations taking place in Europe, as was formerly the case, very weighty motives now equally urge the government to decline, in the Philippine Islands, paying so much regard to religious vocation, and to relax in the policy of raising the natives to the dignity of the priesthood.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Moors and their Piracies.

LONG have the inhabitants of the Philippines deplored, and in vain remonstrated, against the ravages committed on their coasts and settlements by the barbarous Indians of the islands of Mindanao, Basilan and Jolo, as well as by the Malanos, Ilanos and Tirones Moors and others; and there is nothing that so much deserves the attention, and interests the honour of the Captain Generals commanding in this quarter, as an early and efficient attempt to check and punish these cruel enemies. It is indeed true that, in the year 1636 and 1638, General Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, undertook, in person, and happily carried into effect the reduction of the Sultan of Mindanao and the conquest of the island of Jolo, placing in the latter a governor and establishing three military posts there, under the protection of the garrisons of which Christianity was considerably extended. It is equally true, that, on the subsequent abandonment of this important acquisition, owing to the government being compelled to attend to other

urgent matters, the enemy acquired a greater degree of audacity, and the Captain Generals in command afterwards sent several armaments to check his inroads. On one of these occasions, our troops obliged an army of more than 5000 Moors, who had closely beset the fortress of Zamboanga, to raise the siege; and also, in the years 1731 and 1734, fresh detachments of our men were landed in the islands of Jolo, Capul and Basilan, and their success followed by the destruction and ruin of the fortified posts, vessels, and settlements of those perfidious Mahometans*.

---

* About the year 1597, an expedition was first sent from Manilla against Mindanao, under Capt. Figueroa, who, by the king's order, bore the title of Marquis of what he might conquer. He arrived at Buhayen, where the Moors had fortifications; but afterwards retired to the kingdom of Tamoncaca, whose king was in amity with the Spaniards. The other independent chiefs continued their ravages, when, the more readily to repress and counteract them, it was determined to have a permanent establishment on the island of Mindanao, and conformably to the wishes of the Jesuits, Zamboanga, situated near the port of Caldera, was deemed the most eligible position. The situation is beautiful; but having no water, this defect was supplied by digging a channel from the river, through which the water flows in abundance near the walls of the fort, and falls into the sea. The first stone was laid on 23d June, 1635, and this station has principally served to hold the independent islanders in awe, as far at least as regards land operations, and to watch the move-

It is not, however, less certain that, at the periods above mentioned, the war was carried on rather from motives of punishment and revenge, and suggested by a sudden and passing zeal, than in conformity to any progressive and well-combined system. Subsequently, these laudable military enterprises have been entirely neglected,

---

ments of the Jolonese. The town is surrounded by a palisade, abutting on one side to the fort, and on the other to a battery of 14 guns, which commands the approaches and environs of the town. During the administration of Governor Lara, that is, about the year 1660, the fortress was abandoned, through dread of the Chinese pirate, Cogseng, who threatened the Philippines; but, during the command of Don Fernando Bustamante, about the year 1717, the works were reconstructed, contrary to the opinion of the Council and wishes of the public of Manilla, who deemed the establishment too expensive, and besides inadequate to the main object. This fortress was always a subject of jealousy to the people of Mindanao, and during the administration of the Archbishop of Manilla, who assumed the command of the islands at the death of Bustamante, in 1719, Dulasi, king of Butuy, attempted to take it by assault, but was repulsed. It was again resolved to abandon Zamboanga, as well as the fort of Labo, which had been built on the island of Paragua, in order to concentrate the forces. About ten years afterwards, a different policy prevailing, another garrison was established there, and the Spaniards have continued to hold possession ever since, and greatly extended their influence and territorial jurisdiction, though without being able to prevent the predatory excursions of the independent islanders.—Tr.

as well on account of the indolence of some of the governors, as the too great confidence, placed in the protestations of friendship and treaties of peace, with which, from time to time, the sultans of Jolo and Mindanao have sought to lull them to sleep. Their want of sincerity is proved by the circumstance of the piracies of their respective subjects not ceasing, the chiefs sometimes feigning they were carried on without their licence or knowledge; and, at others, excusing themselves on the plea of their inability to restrain the insolence of the Tirones and other independent tribes. Nevertheless, it is notorious that the above mentioned sultans indirectly encouraged the practice of privateering, by affording every aid in their power to those who fitted out vessels, and purchasing from the pirates all the Christians they captured and brought in to them.

Father Juan Angeles, superior of the mission established in Jolo, at the request of sultan Alimindin himself, or Ferdinand I. as he was afterwards unworthily called, on being made a Christian with no other view than the better to gain over the confidence of the Spaniards, in a report he sent to the government from the above island, under date of 24th September, 1748, describing the singular artifices of which the sultan availed himself, in order to amuse him and

frustrate the object of his mission, fully confirms all that has just been said, and, on closing his report, makes use of the following remarkable words: "When is it we shall have had enough of treaties with these Moors, for have we not before us the experience of more than one hundred years, during which period of time, they have not kept a single article in any way burdensome to, or binding on, themselves? They will never observe the conditions of peace, because their property consists in the possession of slaves, and with them they traffic, the same as other nations do with money. Sooner will the hawk release his prey from his talons than they will put an end to their piracies. The cause of their being still unfaithful to Spain, arises out of this matter having been taken up by fits and starts, and not in the serious manner it ought to have been done. To make war on them, in an effectual manner, fleets must not be employed, but they must be attacked on land, and in their posts in the interior; for it is much more advisable at once to spend ten with advantage and in a strenuous manner to attain an important object, than to lay out twenty by degrees and without fruit."

It is an undeniable fact that the government, lulled and deceived by the frequent embassies and submissive and crouching letters which

those fawning sultans have been in the habit of transmitting to them, instead of adopting the energetic measures advised by the above mentioned missionary, have constantly endeavoured to renew and secure the friendship of those chiefs, by means of treaties and commercial relations; granting, with this view, ample licence to every one who ventured to ship merchandise to Jolo, and winking at the traffic carried on by the governors of the fortress of Zamboanga with the people of Mindanao; whilst the latter, on their part, sporting with our foolish credulity, have never ceased waging a most destructive war against us, by attacking our towns situated on the coast, not even excepting those of the island of Luzon. They have sometimes carried their audacity so far as to shew themselves in the neighbourhood of the capital itself, and, at others, taken up their temporary residence in the district of Mindoro, and others belonging to the jurisdictions of Samar and Leyte; and in short, even dared to form an establishment or general deposit for their plunder in the island of Burias, where they quietly remained during the years 1797, 98, and 99, to the great injury of our commerce and settlements.

This want of exertion to remedy evils of so grievous a nature is the more to be deplored, as the Philippine governors have at all times been

fully authorized to carry on war, and promote the destruction of the Moors, under every sacrifice, and especially by the royal orders and decrees of 26th Oct. and 1st Nov. 1758, and 31st July, 1766, in all of which his majesty recommends, in the most earnest manner, "the importance of punishing the audacity of the barbarous infidels, his majesty being desirous that, in order to maintain his subjects of the Philippines free from the piracies and captivity they so frequently experience, no expences or pains should be spared; it being further declared, that as this is an object deeply affecting the conscience of his majesty, he specially enjoins the aforesaid government to observe his order; and finally, with a view to provide for the exigencies arising out of similar enterprises, the viceroy of New Spain is instructed to attend to the punctual remittance, not only of the usual *situado*, or annual allowance, but also of the additional sum of 70,000 dollars, in the first and succeeding years, &c." In a word, our monarchs, Ferdinand VI. and Charles III., omitted nothing that could in any way promote so important an object, and whether it is that the governors have disregarded such repeated orders from their sovereigns, or mistaken the means by which they were to be carried into effect, certain it is, that the unhappy inhabitants of the Philippines have

continued to be witnesses, and at the same time the victims of the culpable apathy of those who have successively held the command of these islands, within the last fifty or sixty years.

Abandoned therefore to their own resources, and from time to time relieved by the presence of a few gun-boats which, after scouring the coasts, have never been able to come up with the light and fast sailing vessels of the enemy, the inhabitants of our towns and settlements have been under the necessity of intrenching and fortifying themselves in the best way they were able, by opening ditches and planting a breastwork of stakes and palisades, crowned with watch towers, or a wooden or stone castle; precautions which sometimes are not sufficient against the nocturnal irruptions and robberies of the Moors, more especially when they come with any strength and fire-arms, in general scarce among the natives.

The *pancos*, or prows, used by the Moors, are light and simple vessels, built of numerous thin planks and ribs, with a small draft of water; and being manned by dexterous rowers, they appear and disappear from the horizon with equal celerity, flying or attacking, whenever they can do it with evident advantage. Some of these vessels are large, and fitted out with 50, 100, and sometimes 200 men. The shots of their

scanty and defective artillery are very uncertain, because they generally carry their guns suspended in slings; but they are to be dreaded, and extremely dexterous in the management of the *campilan*, or sword, of which they wear the blades long and well tempered. When they have any attack of importance in view, they generally assemble to the number of 200 gallies, or more, and even in their ordinary cruises, a considerable number navigate together. As dread and the scarcity of inhabitants, in the Bisayas Islands, cause great ranges of the coast to be left unsettled, it is very easy for the Moors to find numerous lurking-places and strong holds whenever they are pressed, and their constant practice, in these cases, is to enter the rivers, ground their vessels, and hide them among the mangroves and thick foliage, and fly with their arms to the mountains, thus almost always laughing at the efforts of their opponents, who seldom venture to follow them into the thickets and morasses, where the musket is of no use, and a single step cannot be taken with any security.

The fatal consequences and ravages of this system of cruising and warfare round the islands, are incalculable. Besides plundering and burning the towns and settlements, these bloody pirates put the old and helpless to the sword, destroy the cattle and plantations, and annually

carry off to their own homes as many as a thousand captives of both sexes, who, if they are poor and without hopes of being redeemed, are destined to drag out a miserable existence, amidst the most fatiguing and painful labour, sometimes accompanied with torments. Such is the dread and apprehension in these seas, that those only navigate and carry on trade in them, who are able to arm and man their vessels in a way corresponding to the great risks they have to run, or by others, whom want compels to disregard the imminent dangers which await them. Among the latter class, the Bisayas, or painted Indians*, are distinguished, an extremely warlike people, of whom great use might be made. Reared, from their infancy, amidst danger and battle, and greatly resembling the Moors in their features and darkness of skin, they are equally so in the agility with which they manage the long sword and lance, and such is the courage and implacable odium with which they treat their enemies, that, if not taken by surprise, they sell their lives very dear, sacrificing themselves in a most heroic manner, rather than consent to be led away as captives.

* This term was given to some of the islands by the Spaniards, whose natives, it was observed, painted their skins, in order to add to their fierce aspect.—Tr.

In order, however, that a more correct idea may be formed of the wicked policy and atrocious disposition of these Moors, and with a view to do away with the misconceptions of those who are of opinion that incentives to trade, and other slow and indirect means ought to be employed for the purpose of overcoming them, it will suffice to quote the following examples among a number of others, even more recent ones, which might equally be brought forward.

In 1796, the governor of Zamboanga dispatched, with regular passports and under a safe conduct obtained from the sultan of Mindanao, Lieutenant Don Pantaleon Arcillas, with a serjeant, eight men, and a guide, in order to bring in to the fortress the cattle belonging to the king's farm*, which had strayed away and got up in the lands of the above-mentioned Mahometan prince. Five days after their departure,

* This is a large plain adjoining the settlement, on which a quantity of cattle was some years ago let loose at the expence of the government, and has since multiplied in an astonishing degree. On another plain, separated from the latter by a chain of mountains, horses and cattle have also been left to procreate, and the bordering woods are filled with stags and wild hogs. The natural productions resemble those of the island of Luzon, though with some varieties. Dampier says, "The valleys are well moistened with pleasant brooks and small rivers of delicate water, and have trees of divers sorts

whilst the lieutenant was taking his meals at the house of a *Datu*, or chief*, named Oroncaya, he was suddenly surrounded by seventy Moors, who seizing upon him bound him to a tree, and then flayed him alive, from the forehead to the

---

flourishing and green all the year. The trees in general are very large, and most of them are of kinds unknown to us. There is one sort which deserves particular notice, called by the natives Libby trees. These grow wild in great groves of five or six miles long, by the sides of the rivers. Of these trees sago is made, which the poor country people eat instead of bread, three or four months in the year. This tree, for its body and shape, is much like the palmetto or cabbage tree, but not so tall as the latter. The bark and wood is hard and thin, like a shell, and full of white pith, like the pith of an alder. This tree they cut down and split in the middle, and scrape out all the pith, which they beat lustily with a wooden pestle in a great mortar or trough, and then put it into a cloth or strainer, held over the trough, leaving nothing in the cloth but a light sort of husk, which they throw away; but that which falls into the trough settles in a short time to the bottom like mud, and then they draw off the water, and take up the muddy substance, wherewith they make cakes, which being baked, proves very good bread."—This is a description of the rude process of preparing sago meal, in general use among all the islanders.—Tr.

* Crawford, in his Indian Archipelago, observes, that "The Javanese term for king is *Ratu*, the same word that is written *Datu* in other languages. Its literal meaning is grandfather, and, by a slight inflection, a senior or elder, from which last is taken its figurative meaning, a lord or chief."—Tr.

ankle. In this miserable and defenceless situation, the barbarous *Datu* wreaked his vengeance on his body, by piercing it all over with his *kris*, or dagger, and then ordered his skin to be hung up on the pole of one of his ferocious banners *.

In the year 1798, whilst the schooner San José lay at anchor at Tabitabi, near Jolo, the sons-in-law and nephews of the sultan went out to meet her in two large prows, exhibiting at the same time every demonstration of peace, and, sending forward a small vessel with refreshments, they invited the captain to come on board of them. The latter, deceived by the apparent frankness and high rank of the Moors, with the greatest good faith accepted the invitation, and proceeded on board, accompanied by two sailors, with a view to make arrangements for barter. Scarcely had they got on board of the large prow, when they were surrounded and

* The *kris*, or dagger, is worn by men of all ranks among the islanders; and two, or sometimes as many as four, are used by persons of distinction, when full dressed. The value and beauty of the mountings, usually denote the rank and wealth of the wearer; but its use is fitter for the private purposes of revenge, than those of war, though in their mock-fights, the contest usually commences with the spear, and ends with the wooden *kris*, both which they manage with dexterity.—Tr.

seized, and the captain, who was a Spaniard, compelled to sign an order to his mate to deliver up the schooner, which he reluctantly did, under the hope of saving his own and companions lives. The Moors proceeded on board the Spanish vessel, and, in the mean time, the two sailors were taken back to the boat, and there killed with daggers in the presence of all. The schooner's sails were next hoisted, and she was brought into Jolo, where the cargo and crew were sold in sight of, and with the knowledge and consent of the sultan; an atrocity for which he has always refused to give any satisfaction to a nation, thus so openly and barbarously outraged by his own relatives, and in defiance of the existing treaties of peace. Such is the cruel character, and such the execrable policy of the Moors, generally inhabiting the islands situated in the Philippine seas.

The most lamentable circumstance is, that these infidel races, at all times to be dreaded, owing to their numbers and savage ferocity, after the lapse of a century of almost uninterrupted prosperity, and encouraged also by our inattention, have at length gradually attained so formidable a degree of power, that their reduction now must be considered an extremely arduous and expensive enterprise, although an object urgently requisite, and worthy of the

greatness of a nation like our's. In order, however, that the difficulties of so important an undertaking may be justly appreciated, it may be proper to observe, that the island of Mindanao alone, at the present moment, contains a population, equal, if not larger, than that of Luzon, and the margins of the immense lake, situated in its centre, are covered with well-built towns, filled with conveniences, the fruits of their annual privateering, and of the traffic they carry on with the inhabitants of the island of Jolo. True it is, and it may be said, equally fortunate, that they are greatly divided into parties, subject to a variety of *Datus*, or independent chiefs, in name only inferior to the one who styles himself the sultan of the whole island. As, however, the fortresses and districts of Caraga, Misamis, and Zamboanga occupy nearly three parts of the circumference of the island, these Moors freely possess no more than the southern part, commencing at about 25 leagues from Cape San Augustin, and ending in the vicinity of Zamboanga; so that the largest number of their naval armaments are fitted out and issue to sea, either by the great river of Mindanao, or from some of the many bays and inlets, situated on the above extent of coast*.

* It is singular that we have little or nothing new relating to the island and inhabitants of Mindanao, since the remote

The island of Jolo, although small, compared with that of Mindanao, is nevertheless in itself the most important, as well as the real hotbed of all the piracies committed. Its inhabitants, according to the unanimous report of captives and various merchants, in skill and valour, greatly exceed the other Mahometans who infest these seas. The sultan is absolute, and his subjects carry on trade with Borneo, Celebes, and the Malayan tribes, scattered about this great Archipelago. In the port of Jolo, as already noticed, sales are made of Christians captured by the other Moors. The Chinese of Emouy, as well as the Dutch and British, carry them manufactured goods, opium and arms, receiving, in return, black pepper, bees' wax, *balato**, edible nests, tortoise-shell, mother of pearl, gold

---

time of Dampier, who gives the following description of the latter.—TR.

"The Mindanayans, properly so called, are men of mean stature, small limbs, straight bodies, and little heads. Their faces are oval, their foreheads flat, with black small eyes, short low noses, pretty large mouths; their lips thin and red, their teeth black, yet very sound; their hair black and straight; the colour of their skin tawny, but inclining to a brighter yellow than some other Indians, especially the women. They have a custom to wear their thumb-nails very long, especially that on their left thumb, for they never cut it, but scrape it often."

* Reference has already been made to this article, in note, page 82. It is the *holothurion*, or sea-slug, and also bears the

dust, pearls, &c.; and from Manilla also a vessel usually goes once a year with goods; but all

---

name of tripang. The fisheries are numerous, the fish being usually found on the coral reefs, and not on muddy bottoms. It is an unseemly substance of a dirty brown colour, apparently motionless, but occasionally as much as two feet long, and seven inches in circumference. The Chinese merchants are the only good judges of *tripang*, and in the market of Macassar, they distinguish no less than thirty qualities, having a distinct name, and valued from 68 dollars to five per picul. The fish is usually caught by divers, and the quantity annually sent from Macassar to China, where it is deemed a great luxury, is equal to 8833 cwt. Vide Crawfurd, vol. 3. Shipments of fish-maws are also made there, and sell at upwards of £14. per cwt. in Canton, and shark's fins at £6. The edible nests also constitute one of the strange luxuries of the Chinese, and at Canton the best quality is worth 3500 dollars per picul, or £5. 18s. per lb. The nest of the *hirundo esculenta* resembles that of the common swallow, and the substance of which it is formed, is similar to an ill concocted isinglass. The bird always builds in caves and at a distance from the habitation of man, usually on the sea-side. It is generally thought that sea-foam is used in the composition of the nest, but this hypothesis is now laid aside, and it is conjectured to be a material elaborated from the food of the bird. The best nests are those taken in deep, damp caves, and before the swallows have laid their eggs, as they are then the cleanest; the coarsest are taken after the young ones are fledged. The best have a whitish colour, when free from impurities, and they are generally collected twice a year. Their price is enhanced by the difficulty of obtaining them, owing to the almost inaccessible places in which they are found. The quantity

act with the greatest precaution in this dangerous traffic, guarding, as much as possible, against the insidious acts of that perfidious government. The great number of renegados, of all casts, who have successively naturalized themselves there; the abundance of arms, and the prevailing opulence, have, in every respect, contributed to render this island a formidable and powerful state. The capital is surrounded with forts and thick walls, and the famous heights, standing near it, in case of emergency, afford a secure asylum where the women can take refuge, and the treasures of the sultan and public be deposited, whilst, in the plains below, the contest may be maintained by more than 50,000 combatants, already very dexterous in the use of the musket, and of a bold and courageous character. The navy of these islanders is also very respectable, for, besides a great number of smaller prows and war-boats, they have some of a large size, capable of carrying heavy artillery on their decks, mounted on corresponding carriages, and not suspended in slings, as is the custom of the people of Mindanao. In a word,

---

annually sent to China, by Crawfurd is rated at 242,400 lbs. In China they are consumed by the rich and great; indeed the largest proportion goes to the capital, for the use of the court. —Tr.

Jolo is an island governed by a system of administration, extremely vigorous and decisive; dread and superstition sustain the throne of the tyrant, and the fame of his greatness frequently brings to his feet the *ulemas*, or missionaries of the Alcoran, even as far as from the furthest margin of the Red Sea. The prince and people, unanimous in the implacable odium with which they view all Christians, cannot be divided or kept on terms of peace; and if it is really wished to free these seas from the evils and great dangers with which they are at all times threatened, it is necessary at once to strike at the root, by landing and attacking the Jolonese in their strong holds, and thus overcome them by main force, and break the charm by which they are held together*.

* In 1589, the governor of Caldera, Juan Pacho, attempted to reduce the natives of Jolo, and landing immediately after a storm of rain, was killed with the greatest part of his people. This defeat encouraged the Jolonese and Mindanayans, and with 50 war-boats they invaded the islands of Zebu, Negros, and Panay, pillaging and burning the towns, and making many prisoners. In the following year they made a second attack on the same points, and their inhabitants retiring to the mountains, refused to quit them again, as the Spaniards were unable to protect them. An officer and 200 Spaniards were then sent against Jolo, but after failing in an attempt against a fort the king had on a lofty hill, they withdrew to Manilla. From

'This, at least, is the constant and unshaken opinion of all experienced persons and those

---

this period, it may be said, the ravages of the Mahometan islanders on the Christian settlements commenced. To check their inroads, a squadron was sent against Jolo, under the command of Christoval de Lugo, who landed his men without any resistance, the Indians having abandoned their town and retired with their king to the fort on the hill. The Spaniards contented themselves with plundering the houses below, and the auxiliary Indians enriched themselves with the spoils, consisting of rice, gunpowder, brimstone, small arms, &c.; and after destroying the town, returned to Manilla. As soon as they were freed from the presence of their enemy, the Jolonese recommenced their ravages, and nothing was secure on the coasts. They landed, and destroyed all the convents, churches, and plantations they could reach, carrying off captives, among whom were some friars. Governor Tabora dispatched a fleet against them, under the orders of Lorenzo Olaso, who, on landing, marched up to the fort on the hill, to which, as usual, the Moors had retired. Olaso, in the most courageous manner, led on the attack; but in the advance was killed, together with two of his captains. No officer remaining to command the men, they retired to their ships, after laying waste the country. This event redoubled the courage and enmity of the Moors, and the natives of the province of Caraga, in Mindanao, seeing the Spaniards could not subdue their neighbours, broke out into open rebellion, and killed some of the friars and settlers on their coasts.

In 1635, Governor Corcuera arrived at Manilla, and resolved, as early as possible, to punish the Moors of Jolo and Mindanao. On 2d February, 1637, he sailed from Manilla with a squadron, and arrived at Lamitan, the residence of

versed in Philippine affairs; and if, by substantial reasons and existing circumstances, I

Corralat, the chief *Datu* of Mindanao. He easily took possesion of Lamitan, and Corralat retired to a hill well defended by batteries and the best troops he had. The governor was unsuccessful in the first attack; but, in the second, he took the hill, and made great slaughter among the Moors. He then passed on to the fortress of Zamboanga, where the chief of Buhayen and those of the island of Basilan came in to renew their allegiance. He next proceeded to Jolo, and sat down before the fort on the hill; but he found it so well defended, that, after attempting to batter it, he was compelled to adopt another mode of attack. He opened five mines, and springing them at the moment of assault, part of the enemies' works blew up; but the Spaniards advanced so slowly, that the Moors had time to recover themselves and repulsed the charge. Two more mines were sprung the following day, with considerable damage, and the assailants advanced rapidly, but found fresh works erected beyond those thrown down. The governor, finding he had produced little effect, determined to surround the hill, though a league in circumference, with a wall and forts, and thus turn the siege into a blockade. This measure, however, proved inadequate, the besieged defending themselves with great obstinacy. It was therefore resolved to construct a battery on a position commanding the hill. The Moors then offered to capitulate, but the governor insisted on their surrendering at discretion. They became desperate, and in their turn, assaulted the Spanish camp, but being unable to force it, they retreated by the back part of the hill. The governor thus possessed himself of the enemies' strong hold, their queen and her nephew, Tancun; but both the latter afterwards escaped, and carried away greatest part of the king's treasure. A garrison of 200

conceive myself sufficiently authorized to openly recommend a war to be undertaken against the

---

Spaniards and as many Pampangos was left in Jolo, and the victorious Corcuera returned to Manilla; but the unfortunate disputes which soon afterwards took place with the Jesuits, contributed to render these important though dear conquests of little avail.

In 1644, the islands being closely pressed by the Dutch, the new governor, Faxardo, anxious to unite all his strength, ordered the commanding officer at Zamboanga, to enter into an amicable arrangement with Corralat, chief of Mindanao, and the one at Jolo to do the same and evacuate the island, where the unsubdued natives had received aid from the Dutch. From this period the chiefs of Jolo and Mindanao continued ostensibly at peace with the Spaniards, but their subjects prosecuted their ravages on the Christian settlements. About the year 1748, the kings of Jolo and Mindanao agreed to receive Jesuit missionaries into their dominions, at the request of Philip V. of Spain, who wrote letters to them. The insubordination of the minor chiefs and turbulence of the islanders, however, rendered the views of the Jesuits impracticable, and great opposition was besides evinced by the Moorish priests. The reigning king of Jolo, Mahomet Alimudin, was favourable to them, when his brother Bantilam plotted against his life and eventually compelled him to pass over to Manilla, where he was received with great honours, supported at the expence of the treasury and at length baptized by the name of Ferdinand. In the mean time, his brother Bantilam assumed the authority and became a most dreadful scourge to the Spaniards. The new governor, Marquis de Obando, alarmed at the depredations of the Moors on the Bisayas Islands, determined to fit out an efficient force in order to punish them, and at the same

Moors and pushed with the utmost vigour, and more particularly commencing the work by a formal invasion of Jolo; still, as I feel myself

---

time re-establish Ferdinand Alimudin on the throne of Jolo. The fleet anchored before the fortifications on 20th June, 1751, and so panic-struck were the Moors, that they entered into a treaty, binding themselves to receive their expatriated king, abstain from piracies, and deliver up all their captives. The Jolo people did not fulfil their engagements, and the Spaniards finding Ferdinand not only insincere, but also secretly plotting against them, he and his suite were sent back to Manilla. King Bantilam increased his depredations, and another expedition was undertaken against Jolo, but proved unsuccessful. Ferdinand, in the mean time, was confined in one of the forts, and through his daughter Fatima, a fruitless attempt was made to negotiate an understanding with his brother Bantilam, but it produced no other effect than the release of 50 Christian captives, for during that very year, 1754, the Moors visited all the defenceless places with fire and sword, and committed such ravages as had never before been experienced, landing even in the vicinity of Manilla. A fleet was fitted out against the Moors, and the command confided to a Jesuit, of the name of Ducos. So effectually did he conduct the expedition, that he took from the enemy 150 sail of vessels, destroyed three towns and took many prisoners. This ended in a more amicable understanding with Jolo, whither the greatest part of Ferdinand's suite were allowed to return, but he himself was detained till 1763, when he was sent back to Jolo by the British on their evacuation of Manilla.—Such were the principal attempts made to check the Moors and conquer Jolo, derived from the best Spanish authorities, and such the results by which they have usually been attended.—Tr.

incompetent to trace a precise plan, or to discuss the minute details more immediately connected with the object, I feel it necessary to confine myself to the pointing out, in general terms, of the means I judge most conducive to the happy issue of so arduous but important an enterprise, leaving the rest to more able and experienced hands.

As a previous step, I conceive that a council of war ought to be formed in Manilla, composed of the captain-general, the commanders of the navy, artillery, and engineer department, as well as of the regular corps, who, in conformity to all the antecedent information lodged in the secretary's office for the captain-generalship, and the previous report of some one of the ex-governors of Zamboanga and the best informed missionaries, may be enabled to deliberate and proceed on to a matture examination of the whole affair, taking into their special consideration every thing regarding Jolo, its early reduction, the number of vessels and men required for this purpose, the most advantageous points of attack, and the best season in which this can be carried into execution. After all these matters have been determined upon, the operation in question ought to be connected with the other partial and general arrangements of the government, in order that a plan the best adapted to localities and existing

circumstances may be chosen, and without its being necessary to wait for the king's approbation of the means resolved upon, owing to the distance of the court and the necessity of acting with celerity. If, however, on account of the deference in every respect due to the sovereign, it should be thought proper to reconcile his previous sanction with the necessity of acting without loss of time, the best mode would be to send from Spain an officer of high rank, fully authorized, who, as practised on other occasions, might give his sanction, in the name of the king, to the resolutions adopted by the council of war, and take under his own immediate charge, if it should be so deemed expedient, the command of the expedition against Jolo, receiving the appointment of governor of the island, as soon as the conquest should be carried into effect, and as a just reward for his zeal and valour.

Supposing an uniformity of opinions to prevail with regard to the expediency of attempting the subjugation of Jolo, and supposing also the existence of the necessary funds to meet the expences of a corresponding armament, it may be positively relied upon that the project would be extremely popular, and meet with the entire concurrence and support of the Philippine Islands. The military men, aware of the great

riches known to exist in the proposed theatre of operations, would emulously come forward to offer their services, under a hope of sharing the booty, and the warlike natives of the Bisayas would be impelled on by their hatred to the Moors, and their ardent wishes to avenge the blood of their fathers and children. On the other hand, the abundance of regular and well-disciplined officers and troops, at present in the colony, and the number of gun-boats found in the ports, a want of which, on other occasions, has always been experienced, will afford ample scope for the equipment of a force competent to the important enterprise in view. In fact, if the operation is arranged in a systematic manner, and all the precautions and rules observed as are usual in cases of attacks premeditated against European and civilized establishments, here is no reason to expect any other than a flattering and decisive result, since, in reality, the whole would be directed against an enemy, contemptible on account of his barbarism and his comparative ignorance of the art of war.

The preparations deemed necessary being made at Manilla, and the Bisayas auxiliaries assembled beforehand in Zamboanga, with their arms and respective chiefs, the whole of the operation in question, it may be safely said, might be terminated within the period of three

or four months. Supposing even 2000 regular troops are destined for this expedition, with a corresponding train of field pieces, and at the moment there should not be found in the islands a sufficient number of larger vessels to embargo or freight for their conveyance, a competent quantity of coasters, gallies and small craft might be met with at any time, sufficiently capacious and secure to carry the men. This substitute will be found the less inconvenient, because, as the navigation is to be performed among the islands and during the prevalence of the north winds, usually a favourable and steady season of the year, the voyage will consequently be safe and easy. It will also be possible to arrive at the point agreed upon, as a general rendezvous, in twenty, or five-and-twenty days, which place, for many reasons, ought to be the fortress of Zamboanga, situated in front of Jolo and at a moderate distance from that island; it being from this port that, in former times, the Philippine governors usually sent out their armaments, destined to make war against the Basilanese and Jolonese.

As soon as this important and memorable enterprise has been carried into effect, and the punishment and total subjugation of these faithless Mahometans completed and the new conquest placed under a military authority, in the

mean time that the lands are distributing and arrangements making to establish the civil administration, on the same plan followed in the other provinces of the Philippine government, the armament ought to return to Zamboanga with all possible speed; but, after stopping by the way to reduce the small island of Basilan and leaving a fortress and garrison there. Immediately afterwards and before the various tribes of Moors, inhabiting the island of Mindanao, have been able to concert among themselves and prepare for their defence, it would be advisable to direct partial expeditions towards both flanks of Zamboanga, for the purpose of burning the settlements of the natives, and driving them from the shores into the interior. Forts ought then to be raised at the mouths of the inlets and rivers, and a fourth district government formed in the southern part of the island; in such manner that, by possession being taken of the coasts, the government and district of Zamboanga may be placed in contact with the new one established, on the one side, and on the other with the district of Misamis, also the new district with that of Caraga, the western part of which territory is already united to that of Misamis. Such, at least, was the opinion of Lieut.-Col. Don Mariano Tobias, an officer deservedly celebrated for his prudence and consummate skill in these matters, and this

he substantially expressed in a council of war, held on 28th August, 1778, for the purpose of deliberating on the most advisable means to check the Moors, as appears by a long and intelligent report, drawn up on this subject on 26th April, 1800, by the Adjutant-General of this colony, Don Rufino Suarez.

In case it should be determined to adopt the means proposed by Col. Tobias, for the purpose of holding the Moors of Mindanao in check, and to which, unfortunately, due regard has not hitherto been paid, notwithstanding the enterprise presents very few difficulties, owing to the little opposition to be expected from the infidel natives, the latter would then be left completely surrounded and shut up in the heart of the island, and their active system of privateering, with which they have so many years infested these seas, entirely destroyed. If, through the want of garrisons and population, it should not however be possible to deprive them of all their outlets, by which means they would still be able occasionally to send some of their cruising vessels out to sea, the advantages gained would, nevertheless, be extremely great, as well as the facilities with which it would be possible to pursue and counteract the ravages of a few pirates, furtively escaped out of some river, rather than when they are fitted out and well manned and

armed to the number of one and two hundred war-boats, openly in their ports, as at the present moment is the case.

After the emporium of slavery has been destroyed by the conquest of Jolo, and the other general measures adopted, as above pointed out, the government would then be in a situation to turn its attention, with much greater ease, to the arrangement of all the other subaltern schemes of precaution and protection, suited to the difference of circumstances and locality, without the concurrence of which the work would be left imperfect, and in some degree the existence of those settled in the new establishments rendered precarious. As however I am unprepared minutely to point out the nature of these measures, or distinctly to lay down a ground-work for future civilization and improvement, I shall merely observe, that what would then remain to be done, would neither require any great capital, or present obstacles which might not easily be overcome. The Moors being then concentrated in the island of Mindanao, and this completely surrounded on all sides by our forts and settlements, in the manner above described, the only enemies let loose on these seas would be, either the few who might, from time to time, elude the vigilance of our troops and district-commanders, or those who might have escaped from Jolo, pre-

vious to its conquest, and taken up their abode in one or other of the Bisayas islands; or, in short, such as are out cruising at the time our armament returns to Zamboanga and takes possession of the southern coast of Mindanao; in which case they would be compelled to resort to a roving life, establishing, like the Jolo fugitives, temporary dwellings among the mangroves and thickets bordering on the shore.

The principal objects then remaining for the attention of government, would be to guard and protect the towns and settlements established on the coasts from the insults and inroads of banditti, impelled by necessity or despair, and at the same time to promote the gradual overthrow or civilization of the dispersed remnant of Moorish population left in the island. The cruising of the pirates being thus reduced to a space comprehended in an oblong circle, formed by an imaginary line drawn from the southern extreme of the island of Leyte, to the south-west point of Samar, which next running along the north-west coast of Mindoro, on the outside of Tacao and Burias, and coming down to the west of Panay, Negros and Bohol, closes the oval at the little island formed by the Strait of Panaon, about 40 gun-boats might be advantageously stationed in the narrowest passages from land to land; as, for example, in the Strait of San Jua-

nico and other passes of a similar kind, well known to the local pilots. By this means, the limits would be gradually contracted, the enemy harassed, and his schèmes counteracted. Various small naval armaments ought, at the same time, to keep cruising in the centre of this circle, pursuing the Moors by sea and land, dislodging them from their strong-holds and lurking-places, and sending on those who might be captured to the depôt pointed out by government.

The first part of the plan would be the more easily realized, as it is well known that most of the districts corresponding to the Bisayan tribes, including those of Camarines and Albay, situated at the extremity of the island of Luzon, have several gun-boats of their own, which might be used with great advantage. By merely advancing and stationing them in such channels as the Moors must necessarily pass, either in going out or returning, according to the different monsoons, they would easily be checked, without removing the gun-boats to any great distance from their own coasts. As besides the great advantages resulting from this plan and every one doing his duty, are apparent, no doubt numbers of natives would volunteer their services, more particularly if they were liberally rewarded, and their maintenance provided from the funds of the respective communities. Moreover, the points which at first should not be considered as suf-

ficiently guarded, might be strengthened by the king's gun-boats, and indeed, in all of them it would be advisable to station some of the latter, commanded by a select officer, to whose orders the captains of the provincial gun-boats ought to be made subservient.

With regard to the second part, it will suffice to observe, that the captain-generalship of the Philippine Islands already possesses as many as seventy gun-boats, besides a considerable number of gallies and launches, which altogether constitute a formidable squadron of light vessels; and, after deducting those deemed necessary for the protection of Jolo and the new province to be established in Mindanao, a sufficient number would still be left to carry into execution all the objects proposed. At present, although the Moors navigate in numerous divisions, and with a confidence inspired by their undisturbed prosperity, a 24-pounder shot from one of our launches is nevertheless sufficient to put them to flight; what therefore may not be expected when their forces shall be so greatly diminished and their apprehensions increased, of being defeated and captured? Nevertheless, as it is not easy for our gun-boats to come up with them, when giving chase, it would be advisable to add to our cruisers, a temporary establishment of prows and light vessels, manned by Bisayan

Indians, which, by advancing on with the gallies, might attack the enemy and give time for the gun-boats to come up and decide the action. Besides, as the Bisayan Indians are perfectly acquainted with the mode of making war on the Moors, the meaning of their signals and manœuvres, and the kind of places on shore in which they take shelter when pursued at sea, the employment of such auxiliaries would be extremely useful.

The whole of these defensive and offensive arrangements would, however, be ineffectual or incomplete in their results, if the most perfect union and concert is not established in every part, so that all should conspire to the same object, although by distinct means. In order therefore that the necessary harmony may be secured, it would be expedient to remove the chief authority nearer to the theatre of war, by confiding all the necessary instructions and powers to the person who might be selected for the direction and command of the enterprise, after the general plan of operations had been regularly approved. Under this impression, and with a view to the better execution of all the details, it would be advisable for the commanding officer, named by the government, to take up his head quarters in the island of Panay, which, owing to its geographical situation, the

great number of towns and inhabitants contained in the three provinces into which it is divided, as well as other political reasons, is generally esteemed preferable for the object in question, to the island of Zebu, where, in former times, the commanders of the province of the painted Indians resided, as mentioned in the laws of the Indies. The centre of action being placed in Iloilo, a communication with the other points would thus more easily be kept open, aid and relief might be sent more rapidly to the quarter where required, and, in a word, all the movements, of whatsoever kind they might be, would be executed with greater precision and certainty of success. It would be unnecessary to add, that the provincial magistrates of Camarines and Albay ought to co-operate, with their fourteen gun-boats and other smaller vessels, in the measures adopted by the commander of the Bisayan establishment, distributing their forces according to the orders given by him, and by undertaking to guard the straits of San Bernardino.

The island of Paragua, at the head of which the provincial jurisdiction of Calamianes is placed, is not included in the great circle, or chain of stations, above traced out, as well in consequence of its great distance from the other islands, for which reason it is not so much infested by the

Moors, as because of its being at present nearly depopulated and uncultivated, and for these reasons the attention of government ought not to be withdrawn from other more important points. With regard to that of Mindanao, the necessity of keeping up along the whole of its immense coast, a line of castles and watch towers, has already been fully pointed out, more especially in the vicinity of the bay of Panguil, to the north, and the mouths of the great river towards the south; the two points in which the enemies' most formidable armaments are usually fitted out. Consequently, it would not be possible to expect the provincial commanders stationed there would be able to disengage any part of their naval force, in order to place it at the disposal of the officer commanding the Bisayan vessels. Indeed, it is obvious that it would be extremely important to afford the people of Mindanao every possible additional aid, in vessels, troops and money, in order the better to check the sailing of partial divisions of the enemy, and thus prevent the immense number of pirates, inhabiting the interior of the island, from breaking the fortified line, and again covering these seas, and with redoubled fury carrying death and desolation along all the coasts.

It would, in fact, be extremely desirable if,

through the concerted measures and constant vigilance of the four chief magistrates intrusted with the command of the island, the future attempts of the Mindanayans could be entirely counteracted, and their cruisers altogether kept within the line for a certain period of years; as by thus depriving them of the facilities to continue their old habits of life, these barbarous tribes would be eventually compelled to adopt other pursuits, either by ascending the mountainous parts of the island, and shutting themselves up in the thick and impenetrable forests, with a view to preserve their independence; or, throwing down their arms and devoting themselves to the peaceful cultivation of their lands. In the latter case, they would gradually lose their present ferocious character; their regard for the conveniences and repose of social life would increase; the contrast would be attended with most favourable consequences, and in the course of time, the whole of the aboriginal natives of these islands would come into our laws and customs, and become confounded in the general mass of Philippine subjects, owing allegiance to the king.

Finally, it must be equally acknowledged, that the islands of Jolo, Basilan, Capul, and some of the other inferior ones, of which, as above

pointed out, an union ought to be formed in the way of an additional government, subordinate to the captain-general, would be able to co-operate in the war on no other plan than the one traced out for the provinces held in Mindanao; that is, by their gun-boats being confined to the protection of their own coasts; though with this difference, that if, in one instance, the main object would be to prevent the evasion of the enemy, in the other every effort must be employed to guard against and repel their incursions when they do appear. However complete the success of the armament, destined for the reduction of Jolo, it may nevertheless be presumed, that the mountains would still continue to give shelter to hordes of fugitives, who would take refuge in the fastnesses, and avail themselves of every opportunity to concert plans, or fly off to join their comrades in Mindanao, in order to return, and through their aid, satisfy their thirst for vengeance, by surprising some fortress or settlement, or establishing themselves on some neglected and not well known point. In consequence of this, the governor commanding there, would at first require the active co-operation of all his forces, for the purpose of consolidating the new conquest, and causing his authority to be respected throughout the island.

These, in my opinion, are the true and secure means by which the enemies of the peace and prosperity of the Philippines may be humbled, their piracies prevented, and a basis laid for the future civilization of the remaining islands in this important Archipelago. To this sketch, a number of other details and essential illustrations, no doubt, are wanting; and possibly, I may be accused of some inaccuracies, in discussing a topic, with which I candidly avow I cannot be considered altogether familiar. The plan and success of the enterprise must, however, greatly depend on military skill and talent; but as I have attempted no more than fairly to trace the general outline of the plan, and insist on the necessity of its adoption, my remarks, it is to be hoped, will serve to awaken a serious disposition to review and investigate the whole subject, a task that most assuredly ought to be confided to a competent and special council. Whatever defects I may involuntarily have fallen into, will then be corrected; at the same time it ought not to appear strange, that inexperienced persons should presume to speak on matters connected with the public good, when we see them so much neglected by those whose more immediate duty it is to look after and promote them. At all events, dispassionate zeal has seldom done harm; and I

again repeat, that my wish is not so much to see my own ideas adopted, as to urge the necessity of their being examined and digested. I am desirous that other sources of information on this subject should be explored, that practical men should be called in, and that those in power should be induced to apply themselves and devote their exertions to an object so highly deserving of their attention. In short, I am anxious that the pious injunctions of our monarchs should be fulfilled, and that the tears and blood of the inhabitants of these neglected islands should cease to flow *.

---

* The facts contained in the present chapter, as well as the plan discussed, are extremely interesting to all nations carrying on maritime trade with China, and to none more so than ourselves. The Indian Archipelago may be considered as the frontier of China, and indeed our vessels going there, frequently coast along the Philippines. The great revolutions ere long to be expected in the commerce of those countries, will no doubt carry thither many more competitors, whose operations will always be found expensive, if they are compelled to arm for the purposes of defending themselves against the number of lawless pirates, continually roving about the passages between the islands and near the headlands, approached by ships coming from a distance, and bound to the Spice islands or China seas. In this point of view, therefore, the subject in question is as interesting to the British government and public as it is to the Spaniards themselves, and

Should the happy day ever arrive, when the inhabitants of these provinces shall behold them-

---

nothing could be more worthy of the attention of both, than a general and well-concerted plan to put an end to the evil complained of. A second Algiers exists, as it were, on the very foot-path we have to pass in our access to a country with which our commercial relations are already immense, endangering the lives, property, and liberties of our countrymen, whenever they are met by a superior force. In the secluded regions to which we allude, it cannot be expected that men, harbouring long and deep-rooted resentments, and living in a state of turbulence and anarchy, would respect our flag, if they meet vessels unable to protect themselves. Crawfurd, whose work on the Indian Archipelago is the most recent, and, in many respects possessing great local knowledge, observes that "perfidy and faithlessness are vices among the Indian islanders—they disregard human life, and exercise the right of private revenge." If they could be civilized and brought into social habits, they would nevertheless become a valuable class of population; but this cannot be done, as long as they consider plundering as no crime, and disregard treaties and other solemn engagements. The late accounts received from the East Indies, announce the rapid increase of piracy, which had compelled the governor of Bombay to dispatch a squadron to the Arabian Gulf, "to obtain reparation and atonement for outrages committed by the Dola of Mocha on British subjects, and for the plunder of property belonging to the Honourable Company at the factory at that place, &c." Though not exactly the same people to whom we allude, yet the principle on which they act is similar, and they equally disregard the faith of treaties. The frontiers of India and

selves free from the cruel scourge with which they have been desolated for so many years, they will bless the nation that has redeemed them from all their cares, they will tighten their relations with it, and deliver themselves up to its direction without reserve. The Indians will then come down from the strong fastnesses they at present inhabit; they will clear fresh lands, and earnestly devote themselves to tillage and industry. Under the shadow of peace, population and commerce will increase; the Bisayan vessels will then plough the ocean without the dread of other enemies than the elements; and the Moors themselves of Mindanao (I say it with confidence), straightened on all sides, and incessantly harassed by the Christians, but on the other hand witnessing the advantages and mildness of our laws, will at length submit to the dominion of the monarchs of Spain, who will thus secure the quiet pos-

---

China still present an immense scope for civilization, and this can only be commenced by putting down piracy. The subject of the present chapter will therefore be found worthy the attention of such nations as hold commercial intercourse in those quarters, and a judicious plan to rid the Indian seas of the lawless freebooters by whom they have so long been infested, would be an undertaking honourable to the age, and certainly merits the serious attention of the British government.—Tr.

session of one of the most interesting portions of the habitable globe, and be justly entitled to the gratitude of all nations connected with China and India, for having put an end to a series of the most terrific plunder and captivity that ever disgraced the annals of any age.

APPENDIX.

TABLE, N°. I.

General Statement of the Population of the Philippine Islands, according to the most recent Data.

Provinces.	Indians.	Mestizos.
Albay	103,935	2,398½
Antique	39,325	
Bulacan	143,910	20,037½
Batangas	127,920	3,997½
Bataan	23,985	5,596½
Cagayan	76,752	162½
Cavite	51,967	7,195½
Camarines	159,900	2,398½
Capis	87,145½	396½
Caraga	19,183	
Calamianes	15,990	
Island of Negros	41,574	799½
Laguna	95,940	3,198
Leite	68,007½	396½
Misamis	18,388½	
Mindoro	13,169	
New-Ecija	9,750	
Pangasinan	159,900	3,997½
Pampanga	127,920	20,037½
Samar	88,595	799½
Tayabas	71,955	162½
Tondo	143,910	35,977½
Ylocos	361,270	4,797
Yloylo	167,895	1,599
Zambales	23,985	474½
Zebú	151,905	4,797
Zamboanga	1,500	500
	2,395,687	119,719

RECAPITULATION.

Total number of Indians of both sexes	2,395,687	
Ditto ditto of Sangley Mestizos ..	119,719	
Ditto ditto Sangleyes	7,000	
Ditto ditto Whites of all classes ..	4,000	
Total population		2,526,406

Comparison of Population in 1791 *and* 1810 *exclusive.*

Year 1791.		Year 1810.		
Number of Indians	1,582,761	2,395,687	difference	812,926
Ditto of Mestizos .	66,917	119,719	idem ...	52,802
	1,649,678	2,515,406	Idem total	865,728

The difference resulting from the above comparison, founded on documents equally public, exceeds 52 per cent. of increase in 18 years; and if the same proportion continues, the population of the Philippine Islands will be doubled in 34 years; an increase that might be deemed incredible, if we had not the extraordinary example of Philadelphia having doubled its population in 28 years, as is affirmed by Buffon, on the authority of Dr. Franklin.

TABLE, N°. II.

Comparative Statement of the annual Cost and Proceeds of a Cabalita *of Land planted with Sugar Cane in the Province of La Pampanga, viz.*

For ploughing the said land six times .... Dollars	1	4	0
For harrowing do. three times	0	6	0
For enclosing the same with a wicker fence, stakes, &c.....	4	0	9
For 4000 sprouts for planting, digging holes, &c.	1	7	6
For repairing fences and weeding	0	6	0
For 14 sugar moulds	2	5	0
For expences of manufacturing 14 loaves of sugar	12	0	0
Total cost, dollars	23	5	3

Proceeds of one loaf of sugar sold.....	2	6	6
Idem of 2⅓ arrobas of molasses, yielded by each loaf	0	2	9
	3	1	3
Deduct prime cost of each loaf, at the rate of..	1	6	1
Nett proceeds, equivalent to 90 per cent. profit Ds.	1	3	2

Comparative Statement of annual Cost and Proceeds of 5 Cabalitas *of Land sowed with* 5 *Measures of Indigo Seed in the said Province,* viz.

For ploughing said land once in 5 days..Dollars	1	2	0
For harrowing once, sowing and covering the same	0	5	3
Expences of fencing in the same	11	0	6
For 5 measures of seed	1	4	6
For making two harrows, and fixing the same	1	6	0
Expences of workmen, and 25 vats for preparing the same	9	1	0
Expences of overseer	3	7	3
For 10 measures of lime	2	4	0
For baskets, stretchers, &c. to dry the same	0	4	0
Expences of attending vats	3	1	0
Total cost, Dollars	35	3	6

Medium price of 1 quintal sold	55	0	0
Deduct prime cost of the same	35	3	6
Nett proceeds, equivalent to 57 per cent. profit Ds.	19	4	6

Comparative Statement of 2 Cabalitas *of Land sowed with* 1 *Measure of Rice; that is, of Cost and Proceeds in said Province, viz.*

For ploughing said lands twice in two days. Dollars	1	0	0
For harrowing do. twice in two days, and sowing	1	1	0
For fencing do.	2	0	6
For reaping do. with 10 persons	2	0	6
For thrashing and cleaning 10 measures	2	2	0
Total cost, Dollars ..	8	4	0

Value of 1 measure of rice sold	3	6
Deduct prime cost of idem at the rate of	1	11
Nett proceeds, equivalent to more than 60 per cent. profit.... Dollars	1	7

Remarks.—In good seasons, the profit of the planter often increases in an extraordinary degree. The 4000 sprouts of sugar-cane, for example, sometimes produce him 28 instead of 14 loaves of sugar, and the *cavan*, or measure of rice, 80 and even as many as 100 measures, instead of 35, as above computed. Out of 15 and even 10 vats of dye, he occasionally obtains a quintal of indigo, instead of 25 vats, the proportion above stated. If the planter is a man of easy circumstances, and enabled to send his produce to the general market, in order to sell it to the merchants or captains wanting it, he obtains a much better price than by selling it on the spot to the intermediate purchasers. I have seen the quintal of La Laguna in-

digo sold in Manilla at the rate of 130 dollars, when the quality was very superior, and the ordinary one at 100 dollars; the loaf of sugar at 4 dollars, 5 rials, and the measure of *paley* or husked rice at 3 dollars; but I have preferred taking a medium sale price in the preceding statement, in order to shew in a clearer point of view the advantages derived from planting in the Philippine Islands.

TABLE, N°. III.

General List of the principal Manufactures of the Philippine Islands, distinguishing the Provinces in which made.

Ploughs and other agricultural implements..In all the Provinces.
Spun cotton in hanks ..... Cagayan.
Common earthenware ..... Tondo
Cotton counterpanes, large and embroidered with silk on one side ..... Ylocos.
Idem smaller size, embroidered on both sides ..... Idem.
Idem plain cotton ..... Idem.
Idem flushed, plain and striped ..... Idem.
Shirting, plain, or with silk stripes..Albay, Camarines, Yloylo.
Idem of country hemp, dyed or undyed..Tayabas, id. id. id.
Cotton stockings, coarse ..... Laguna.
Nankeens, coloured and blue, of 6, 7 and 8 yards....Ylocos, Tondo, Batangas.
Gold chains and ornaments of 17 or 18 carats.....Tondo.
Tortoiseshell boxes ..... Tayabas
Cotton gauze, fine and worked, from 7 to 8 yards each piece.. Cagayan, Ylocos.
Dimities of various qualities of 7, 8 and 12 yards each piece.. Idem.
Blue ginghams of 7 and 8 yards ..... Idem.
Baftas, fine, of 4 and 5 yards... Tayabas, Albay, Camarines.
Flowered calicoes of 8 yards ..... Tondo, Ylocos, &c.
Superfine cotton stockings ..... Laguna.
Furniture of narra and other fine woods ..... Tondo, idem.
Table cloths, coarse, fine, worked, and 1, 2 and 3 yards wide, and 8 long ..... Ylocos.

Calicoes of 8 yards ..... Albay, Camarines.
Cotton sail-cloth ..... Ylocos.
Idem lighter and finer quality ..... Batangas.
Romals, white, checked and in coloured silk..... Albay, Camarines.
Idem.....idem....with cotton borders .... Idem...idem.
Articles of silver plate, well polished ..... Tondo.
Gold.....idem.....idem.. .....Idem.
Superfine white cotton handkerchiefs with borders....Yloylo.
Idem of silk and cotton worked.....Tondo.
Idem of cotton dyed in colours and blue...Ylocos, Batangas, idem.
Mats, large, superfine and worked.....Tayabas, Laguna.
Idem.....idem.....idem in colours ..Idem..idem.
Idem.....idem. country hemp, dyed .... Idem...idem.
Stripes of silk and cotton and of all cotton of 12 yards..... Tondo, Ylocos.
Rosaries of coco berries.....Laguna.
Superfine hats of wove palm fibres ..... Albay, Camarines.
Idem of coloured straw.....Pangasinan.
Cotton towels, fine, plain and diapered.....Ylocos.
Mats and carpets of silk, silk and cotton, and all cotton.. Tondo, Ylocos, Yloylo, &c.
Lace and veils, also worked and embroidered muslins..Tondo.
Rigging, cordage, &c. of all sizes.....Albay, Camarines.

N. B. It ought to be observed, that besides the above enumerated articles, the natives, in almost all the provinces, manufacture various kinds of cloth, &c. for their own wearing, as well as utensils for their domestic uses.

TABLE, N°. IV.

Imports, Exports, and ordinary Consumption of the Philippine Islands.

IMPORTS.

Dollars	from	to
Goods from Bengal	600	700,000
Idem coast of Coromandel	400	600,000
Idem and silver from Europe, United States, Mauritius, and Joló, &c...	150	200,000
Idem from Canton, Macao, Lanquin, and Emouy.....	1,100	1,200,000
Silver and gold coin from New Spain	2,000	2,200,000
Cochineal, copper, cocoa, and other articles from idem	100	150,000
Silver and gold coin from Peru	500	600,000
Copper, cocoa, brandies, wine, grain, and pulse from idem	60	100,000
	4,910	5,750,000
Medium dollars		5,330,000
Total consumption of all kinds of foreign articles	800	1,000,000
Medium dollars		900,000

EXPORTS.

	Dollars from	to
To Bengal and Madras in coined silver	1,000	1,200,000
To idem idem in copper and other articles	80	100,000
To China in coined silver	1,500	1,600,000
To idem in nests, balato, mother of pearl, tortoise-shell, hides, tapa, salt fish, cotton, rice, sugar, ebony, logwood, &c.	150	200,000
To Europe and United States in indigo, sugar, black pepper, &c.	200	300,000
To Acapulco in India and China goods	1,000	1,200,000
To Lima in idem idem idem	520	540,000
	4,450	5,140,000
Medium dollars		4,795,000

RECAPITULATION.

Imports....	Dollars	5,330,000
Exports....		4,795,000
Consumption		900,000
Total amount of annual circulation of trade		11,025,000

TABLE, N°. V.

Administration of pious Institutions, whose Funds are let out at a maritime Premium and Risk, viz.

	Dollars.
Provincial Convent of shod Augustines	38,129
Convent of.....idem.....	89,809
Provincial Convent of barefooted, idem.	30,079
Convent of.....idem of Cavite.....	3,038
Venerable Third Order of St. Dominick	205,092
Idem.....idem of St. Francis in Manilla....	501,078
Idem.....idem.....idem of Sampaloc....	39,764
Sacred Mitre.....	88,155
Mercy	811,154
City funds.....	37,272
Brotherhood of Jesus Nazarenus, or Recolects of Manilla.....	22,696
Idem of the Holy Christ of Burgos	12,804
Idem of the Sanctuary of the Cathedral of Manilla	9,058
Idem of Nazarenus, or Recolects of Cavite	2,597
Idem of Santelmo of Cavite	650
Idem of the Sanctuary of idem.....	18,338
Idem of. ....idem of Binondo	28,486
Idem of the Holy Sepulchre of idem	1,028
Idem of the Rosary of idem	1,860
Idem of the Sacrament of Santa Cruz	100
College of Marianas	81,000
Funds in aid of the poor.....	89,836
Funds of Temporalities.....	151,625
Aggregate amount of Community Funds	174,367
Sum total, Dollars	2,470,390

TABLE, N°. VI.

Particulars and Amount of the various Branches constituting the King's Revenue in the Philippine Islands, their respective Expences and Nett Proceeds, corresponding to the Year 1809.

	Receipts and Proceeds of Sales.			Expences, Waste and Discounts.				Nett Proceeds.		
Branch of Tobacco..	Dollars 957,894	7	5	Dollars 451,140	1	6	Dollars	506,754	5	11
Idem of Tributes	506,215	0	0	 141,470	1	7	.....	364,474	6	5
Idem of Country Wine....	389,933	0	0	 168,577	0	0	.....	221,426	0	0
Idem of *Custom* House....	270,979	0	6	 13,800	0	0	.....	257,179	0	6
Idem of Betel Nut	48,610	0	0	 21,532	0	0	.....	27,078	0	0
Idem of Cockpits	40,141	0	0	.....				40,141	0	0
Idem of exchequered Goods	12,733	3	7	.....				12,733	3	7
Idem of Board of Admiralty	18,216	0	7	.....				18,216	0	7
Idem of Capitation Tax on Sangleyes	30,000	0	0	.....				30,000	0	0
Idem of Bulls of Cruzada..	15,360	6	9	 4,422	2	9	.....	10,938	4	0
Idem of Indulgences.....	569	6	8	 137	0	6	.....	432	6	2
Idem of Playing Cards	11,539	1	0	 932	5	0	.....	10,606	4	0
Idem of Gunpowder	7,307	5	0	 401	1	11	.....	6,906	3	6
Idem of Tithes.....	12,493	0	1	.....				12,493	1	0
Idem of King's Fifth on Gold	1,644	6	6	.....				1,644	6	6
Dues on Notarial Diplomas	6,314	3	2	 8,074	5	9	.....			

Commandancy of St. Ferdinand's Castle	3,037	0	0	.....				.....	3,037	0	0
Saleable and renounceable Offices.....	7,860	6	7	.....				.....	7,860	6	7
Dues on Clerical Promotions	6,468	0	0	.....				.....	6,468	0	0
Dues on other vacancies....	4,000	0	0	.....				.....	4,000	0	0
Minor Dues on idem.....	10	7	8	.....				.....	10	7	8
Ecclesiastical Rates	685	0	0	.....				.....	685	0	0
Deductions on Ecclesiastical Allowances	669	3	6	.....				.....	669	3	6
Funds in Mortmain	7,200	0	0	.....				.....	7,200	0	0
Ecclesiastical Annuities....	174	6	3	.....	1	5	10	.....	173	0	5
Transversal Inheritances ..	700	0	0	.....	10	4	0	.....	689	4	0
Fines imposed by the Council	18	2	8	.....				.....	18	2	8
Penalties imposed by idem..	4,631	7	9	.....	329	2	2	.....	4,302	5	7
Fines on District Magistrates	3,706	6	0	.....				.....	3,706	6	0
Post Office.....	1,543	6	0	.....	457	7	6	.....	1,085	6	6
Stamps	4,467	4	0	.....	321	4	4	.....	4,146	0	0
Situado, or annual allowance received from Mexico ..	250,000	0	0	.....				.....	250,000	0	0
Total receipts dollars	2,625,176	4	10	Expences deducted	811,858	2	10	Total nett proceeds	1,813,318	2	0

TABLE, N°. VII.

General Statement of the Sales, Expences and Proceeds of the Tobacco Monopoly from 1782, *when it commenced, till the Year* 1809 *inclusive, and also of the Monies on account of the said Proceeds remitted to Spain, those applied to the Royal Treasury, and also expended in Edifices and public Works.*

Years.	Sales.—Dollars.	Expences.—Dollars.	Proceeds.—Dollars.	Remitted to Spain.—Dols.	Applied to the Treasury.	Public Works.—Dollars.
1782 ..	96,859 3 6 ..	52,152 5 0 ..	44,697 6 6 ..	....	....	....
1783 ..	386,811 3 4 ..	147,764 0 2 ..	239,047 3 2 ..	150,000 0 0 ..	....	5,260 4 0
1784 ..	366,548 1 1 ..	141,867 6 3 ..	224,680 2 15 ..	....	....	55,418 1 6
1785 ..	379,230 0 8 ..	151,710 5 10 ..	227,519 2 15 ..	....	....	16,105 0 7
1786 ..	491,975 3 1 ..	205,574 4 9 ..	286,400 6 9 ..	300,000 0 0 ..	....	33,600 5 3
1787 ..	545,350 4 4 ..	219,649 1 13 ..	325,701 2 8 ..	....	....	813 6 0
1788 ..	455,716 1 8 ..	196,973 0 4 ..	258,743 1 4 ..	....	....	67,684 4 14
1789 ..	426,472 7 3 ..	252,125 7 6 ..	174,346 7 14 ..	199,090 0 0 ..	338,954 2 14 ..	17,788 3 9
1790 ..	540,587 4 4 ..	282,922 4 15 ..	257,664 7 6 ..	....	....	3,732 1 0
1791 ..	505,322 3 5 ..	280,703 3 6 ..	224,618 7 16 ..	424,063 5 9 ..	....	19,934 7 15
1792 ..	547,120 4 4 ..	274,452 5 14 ..	272,667 6 7 ..	224,619 0 1 ..	..... .	21,084 0 14
1793 ..	570,479 1 8 ..	293,801 5 10 ..	276,677 3 15 ..	180,305 0 7 ..	102,766 7 7 ..	7,677 1 5

1794 ..	544,222	6	16	..	270,335	5	3	..	273,887	1	13	..	231,603	7	11	..	.....	..	12,303	3	9
1795 ..	545,027	0	0	..	222,529	5	10	..	322,497	2	7	..	262,013	7	14	..	.....	..	3,709	6	0
1796 ..	672,604	7	7	..	340,893	4	9	..	331,711	2	15	..	.....	..			554,615	3	9 ..	12,914	5	9
1797 ..	839,667	1	3	..	389,351	5	8	..	450,315	3	12	..	.....	..			482,834	4	11 ..	5,220	3	14
1798 ..	894,822	7	1	..	375,013	7	10	..	319,808	7	8	..	.....	..			478,443	7	0 ..	8,747	0	14
1799 ..	981,250	1	11	..	522,591	7	9	..	458,658	2	2	..	.....	..			470,000	0	0 ..	331	1	8
1800 ..	879,884	5	11	..	363,483	5	$8\frac{4}{12}$ ..		516,401	0	$2\frac{8}{12}$ ..		.....	..			472,000	0	0 ..	3,193	0	12
8 01 ..	1,051,160	5	$7\frac{1}{2}$	..	431,125	0	$0\frac{10}{12}$ ..		620,035	5	$6\frac{8}{12}$ ..		.....	..			612,000	0	0 ..	1,248	3	$14\frac{1}{2}$
1802 ..	1,046,576	1	5	..	463,350	4	$12\frac{1}{2}$ ..		583,225	4	$9\frac{1}{2}$ ..		.....	..			513,118	0	0 ..	1,616	3	11
1803 ..	948,464	7	11	..	459,296	5	$3\frac{4}{12}$ ..		489,168	2	$7\frac{8}{12}$ ..		.....	..			469,000	0	0 ..	14,291	1	$13\frac{1}{2}$
1804 ..	767,060	0	$9\frac{1}{2}$ ..		560,384	2	$7\frac{3}{12}$ ..		206,675	6	$2\frac{6}{12}$ ..		.....	..			390,666	7	11 ..	4,500	0	0
1805 ..	698,912	6	15	..	438,320	7	$0\frac{10}{12}$ ..		260,621	7	$14\frac{2}{12}$ ..		.....	..			114,866	0	0 ..	.....		
1806 ..	936,422	6	$2\frac{7}{12}$ ..		449,952	3	$7\frac{7}{12}$ ..		486,470	2	12 ..		.....	..			300,076	1	0 ..	.....		
1807 ..	1,039,912	6	11	..	322,105	0	1 ..		707,807	6	10 ..		.....	..			707,807	6	10 ..	5,006	5	$3\frac{1}{2}$
1808 ..	1,000,000	0	0	..	500,000	0	0 ..		500,000	0	0 ..		.....	..			500,000	0	0 ..	.....		
1809 ..	957,894	7	5	..	451,140	1	6 ..		506,754	5	16 ..		.....	..			506,754	5	16 ..	23,076	2	16
Dolls.	19,106,379	5	$1\frac{7}{12}$ ..		9,049,573	4	$1\frac{8}{12}$ ..		10,056,806	0	$16\frac{11}{12}$		1,971,695	5	8		7,013,904	6	10 ..	345,261	3	$10\frac{1}{2}$

TABLE, N°. VIII.

Annual Amount of the Royal Duties of Almojarifazgo, Anchorage, Exportation of Gold and Silver; that of Expences of Officers and smaller Vessels employed by the Royal Custom House, and also of Nett Proceeds, from the Year 1788 *to* 1809, *inclusive.*

Years.	Almojarifazgo and Anchorage.	Exportation of Silver.	Exportation of Gold.	Total Royal Duties.	General Expences deducted.	Nett Proceeds.
1788	Ds. 116,900 1 3 ..	21,341 2 7..	.....	138,241 3 10..	9,748 0 11..	128,493 2 11
1789..	96,386 1 1 ..	40,143 7 0..	1,286 1 6..	137,816 1 7..	11,163 2 8..	126,652 6 11
1790..	107,232 0 3 ..	34,931 2 4..	878 0 2..	143,041 2 9..	17,202 5 9..	125,838 5 0
1791..	45,526 1 5 ..	27,127 5 5..	505 0 4..	73,158 7 2..	15,681 2 5..	57,477 4 9
1792..	49,013 2 7 ..	11,987 2 8..	2,060 6 11..	63,061 4 2..	14,690 6 10..	48,370 5 4
1793..	155,920 5 8 ..	10,931 7 3..	524 1 1..	167,376 6 0..	14,029 3 0..	153,347 3 0

1794..	47,554	5	10	..	3,357	3	3	..	444	4	1	..	51,356	5	2	..	13,629	3	7	..	37,729	1	7
1795..	71,239	7	10	..	6,553	2	5	..	479	6	5	..	78,273	0	8	..	13,491	2	1	..	64,781	6	7
1796..	92,350	0	7	..	9,624	3	0	..	302	3	9	..	102,276	7	4	..	12,815	4	1	..	89,461	3	3
1797..	62,416	6	9	..	15,544	7	8	.....					77,961	6	5	..	10,911	1	6	..	67,050	4	11
1798..	275,316	7	4	..	28,730	7	8	.....					304,047	8	0	..	13,942	7	3	..	290,104	3	9
1799..	176,218	1	2	..	34,402	1	5	.....					210,620	2	7	..	13,409	5	2	..	197,210	5	5
1800..	195,442	1	7	..	31,988	4	5	.....					227,430	6	0	..	13,671	3	10	..	213,759	2	2
1801..	152,242	1	3	..	35,272	1	1	.....					187,514	2	4	..	13,710	5	11	..	173,803	4	5
1802..	263,777	7	6	..	62,144	1	2	.....					325,922	0	8	..	13,695	1	1	..	312,226	7	7
1803..	135,562	0	7	..	50,321	0	11	..	135	2	8	..	186,018	4	2	..	13,526	5	11	..	172,491	6	3
1804..	77,848	3	5	..	56,469	5	7	.....					134,318	1	0	..	13,723	4	5	..	120,594	4	7
1805..	92.537	5	0	..	30,669	0	2	.....					123,206	5	2	..	11,506	2	11	..	111,700	2	3
1806..	126,154	4	0	..	35,227	4	11	.....					161,382	0	11	..	11,521	1	3	..	149,860	7	8
1807..	67,756	7	0	..	23,753	2	4	.....					91,510	1	4	..	13,129	7	5	..	78,380	1	11
1808..	61,296	3	10	..	15,439	0	0	.....					76,735	3	10	..	12,500	0	0	..	64,235	3	10
1809..	214,434	0	6	..	56,545	0	0	.....					270,979	0	6	..	13,800	0	0	..	257,179	0	6
Dolls.	2,683,126	4	5		642,506	1	3		6,616	2	11		3,332,249	0	7		291,500	6	0		3,040,748	2	7

TABLE, N°. IX.

General Statement of the Number of Indian Tributes, according to Provinces, their Amount in Money, Expences of Collection and other ordinary Charges and Discounts, with Nett Proceeds in favour of the Treasury, corresponding to the Year 1809.

Provinces.	Indian Tributes.	Idem of Mestizos.
Albay	15,990	369
Antique	6,050	
Bulacan	22,140	3,075
Batangas	19,680	615
Bataan	3,690	861
Cagayan	11,808	25
Cavite	7,995	1,107
Camarines	24,600	369
Capis	13,407	61
Caraga	2,952	
Calamianes	2,460	
Island of Negros	6,396	123
Laguna	14,760	492
Leite	10,455	61
Misamis	2,829	
Mindoro	2,026	
New-Ecija	1,500	
Pangasinan	24,600	615
Pampanga	19,680	3,075
Samar	13,630	123
Tayabas	11,070	25
Tondo	22,140	5,535
Ylocos	55,580	738
Yloylo	25,830	246
Zambales	3,690	73
Zebú	23,370	738
Zamboanga		
	368,328	18,326

Total number of Indian tributes, 368,328, at the rate of 10 rials, amount to	Dollars	460,400
Idem idem of mestizos, 18,326, at the rate of 20 rials		45,815
	Dollars	506,215

DEDUCT.

For the amount of three per cent. for collection belonging to the district magistrates... Dollars	15,186	3	7			
For expences of freights, losses, waste, &c. in the royal warehouses, failures of district magistrates, &c. at the rate of 25 per cent.....	126,553	6	0			
				141,740	1	7
Nett proceeds in favour of the Treasury, Doll.				364,474	6	5

TABLE, N°. X.

General Statement of Charges and ordinary Expences; comparison of their Amount with that of the Nett Proceeds of all the Branches constituting the King's Revenue in these Islands, and real Balance remaining in favour of the Treasury, according to official Documents and corresponding to the Year 1809.

GENERAL EXPENCES.

Salaries of Archbishopric, Dean, Chapter and Curates of Manilla..... Ds.	11,416	3	6
Idem of the Bishopries of Ylocos, Camarines and Zebu, with their churches....	18,014	0	2
Ecclesiastical stipends of parish curates....	146,694	4	0
Royal Chapel	4,314	0	0
College of Saint Potenciana	4,195	8	0
Royal Audiencia.....	31,594	5	0
Accountant's department and ministry of Finance	26,576	1	10
	242,804	6	6

REGULARS.

Staff of the town of Manilla	11,784	0	0
King's Regiment of Infantry	121,341	0	10
Battalion of the Queen	80,675	2	2
Idem of the Prince.....	81,774	5	9
Dragoons of Luzon	25,543	0	0
Royal Corps of Artillery.....	44,839	5	9
Idem of Engineers	2,684	1	0
Invalids	3,954	5	7
	379,596	3	9

MILITIA.

Battalion of Grenadiers of Luzon ..... Ds.	73,247	2	6
Idem of Ylocos	54,389	5	4
Idem of Mestizos of Real Principe	16,602	6	3
Detachment of Bowmen	34,675	5	0
Piquet of Pangasinan	1,217	7	8
Idem of La Pampanga	794	4	10
Hussars of Aguilar	26,504	3	6
	207,504	3	1

NAVY, FORTS, AND OTHER MILITARY ITEMS.

Docks and stores of the royal navy in Cavite	219,105	1	7
Island cruisers	76,849	1	5
Fortress of Zamboanga	23,182	4	0
Idem of Misamis.....	10,293	0	0
Idem of Caraga	5,432	0	0
Idem of Calamianes	857	6	0
Idem of Mindoro	16,750	0	0
Idem of Batanes	4,578	4	0
Idem of New Ecija.....	3,000	0	0
Garrison of Fort Santiago	7,216	0	0
Idem....idem of Cavite	12,296	2	0
Idem....of San Antonio Abad.....	96	0	0
Royal Hospital of Manilla	44,718	1	0
Royal Laboratory of Artillery	35,186	3	6
Idem....of Engineers	78,407	0	0
	537,967	7	6

Amount of nett proceeds of the entire Revenue, according to statement, N°. VI.	1,813,318	2	0

Amount of Revenue....Brought over..Ds.				1,813,318	2	0
DEDUCT.						
For amount of general expences	942,804	6	6			
For idem of regulars	379,596	3	9			
For idem of militia	207,504	3	1			
For id. of navy, forts, &c.	537,967	7	6			
				1,367,873	4	10
Nett balance in favour of the Treasury ..				445,444	5	2

N. B. It ought to be observed, that in the item of 44,839 4 5 expences corresponding to the Royal Corps of Artillery, is comprehended those of the Provincial or Militia Artillery, which amount to more than half of the above sum.

TABLE, N°. XI.

Enumeration of all the Towns and Missions of the Philippine Islands, distinguishing the Religious Orders and Indian and Mestizo Clergy by whom administered.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF MANILLA.

PROVINCE OF TONDO.

Binondoc	Clergy
San Gabriel	idem
Santa Cruz	idem
Quiapo	idem
Hermita	idem
San Pedro Macate	idem
Mariquina	idem
San Mateo	idem
Bosoboso	idem
Antipolo	idem
Taytay	idem
Cainta	idem
Tambobong	Augustines
Tondo	idem
Pasig	idem
Taguüg	idem
Malate	idem
Parañaque	Augustines
Las Piñas	idem
San Miguel	Franciscans
Sampaloc	idem
Dilao	idem
Pandacan	idem
Santa Ana	idem

PROVINCE OF BULACAN.

Bulacan	Franciscans
Malolos	idem
Paombon	idem
Hagonoy	idem
Calumpit	idem
Quingua	idem
San Isidro	idem
Baliguag	Augustines
Angat	idem

Guiguinto	Augustines
Bigaa	idem
Bocave	Franciscans
Marilao	idem
Santa Maria	idem
San José del Monte	idem
Maycavayan	idem
Polo	idem
Ovando	idem
San Rafael	Clergy

PROVINCE OF LA PAMPANGA.

Bacolor	Clergy
Betis	idem
Guagua	idem
Sesmoan	idem
Lubao	idem
Santa Rita	idem
San Fernando	idem
Arayat	idem
Cabiao	idem
Tarlac	idem
San José de Palosapis	idem
Tayug	idem
Santon	idem
Gapan	idem
San Miguel	idem
Candaba	idem
San Luis	idem
San Simon	idem
Macabebe	idem

Minalin	Clergy
Santo Tomas	idem
Mesico	idem
Santa Ana	idem
Apalit	Augustines
Mabalacat	Recolects
Bamban	idem
Capaz	idem

PROVINCE OF BATAAN.

Batanga	Clergy
Abucay	idem
Pilar	idem
Samal	idem
Orani	idem
Hermosa	idem
Orion	idem
Mariveles	idem

PROVINCE OF CAVITE.

Cavite	Clergy
San Roque	idem
Bacoor	idem
Cavite el Viejo	idem
Silan	idem
Yndan	idem
Maragondon	idem
Naic	idem

Santa Cruz de Malabon Clergy
San Francisco de Malabon id.
Ymus ..... Recolects

PROVINCE OF LA LAGUNA.

Pagsanján ..... Franciscans
Lumbang ..... idem
Longos ..... idem
Binangonan ..... idem
Moron ..... idem
Baras ..... idem
Tanay ..... idem
Pililla ..... idem
Santa Maria de Caboan idem
Mabitac ..... idem
Siniloan ..... idem
Panguil ..... idem
Paquil ..... idem
Paete ..... idem
San Antonio ..... idem
Cavinte ..... idem
Santa Cruz ..... idem
Pila ..... idem
Bay ..... idem
Los Baños ..... idem
Nagcarlan ..... idem
Lilio ..... idem
Majayhay ..... idem
Daractan ..... idem
Biñan ..... Clergy
San Pedro Tunasan .... idem
Cabuyao ..... Clergy
Calamba ..... idem
Calauang ..... idem
Jalajala ..... idem
Santa Rosa ..... Dominicans

PROVINCE OF BATANGAS.

Batangas ..... Augustines
Bauang ..... idem
Taal ..... idem
San José ..... idem
Lipa ..... idem
Tanauan ..... idem
San Pablo ..... Franciscans
Balayang ..... Clergy
Rasario ..... idem
Santo Tomas ..... idem
Lian ..... idem
Nagsubu ..... idem

PROVINCE OF ZAMBALES.

Yba ..... Clergy
Subic ..... idem
Masinloc ..... idem
Bolinao ..... idem
Balincaguin ..... idem
Borolan ..... Recolects

PROVINCE OF MINDORO.

Calapan	Clergy
Naujan	idem
Boac	idem
Santa Cruz de Napo	idem
Luban	idem
Gasan	idem

BISHOPRIC OF NEW SEGOVIA.

PROVINCE OF PANGASINAN.

Cingayen	Dominicans
Binmaley	idem
San Cárlos	idem
Calasiao	idem
Santa Bárbara	idem
Mangaloan	idem
Malasiqui	idem
Salasa	idem
Dagupan	idem
San Jacinto	idem
Mananag	idem
San Fabian	idem
San Isidro	idem
Bayambang	idem
Asingan	idem
Panique	idem
Parug	Dominicans
Agoo	Augustines
Asingay	idem
Bavan	idem
Baenotan	idem

MISSIONS OF YTUY AND PANIQUR.

Aritao	Dominicans
Dupax	idem
Bambang	idem
Bayonbon	idem
Lumauang	idem
Bagabag	idem
Carig	idem
Angadanang	idem
Cabayan	idem
Camaray	idem

PROVINCE OF YLOCOS.

Vigan	Clergy
Santa Catalina	idem
San Vicente	idem
Santo Domingo	idem
Lapoyg	idem
Cabugant	idem
Sinait	idem
Banguit	idem

Tayum..... Clergy
Namacpacan .... Augustines
Balavan ..... idem
Bangar ..... idem
Santa Cruz..... idem
Candon ..... idem
Santa Maria ..... idem
Narbacan ..... idem
Santa Catalina..... idem
Bantay ..... idem
Masingal ..... idem
Badoc ..... idem
Pauay ..... idem
Batac ..... idem
San Nicolás ..... idem
Sarrat ..... idem
Dingra ..... idem
Pigdig ..... idem
Lavag ..... idem
Bacarra..... idem
Bangi ..... idem

PROVINCE OF CAGAYAN.

Lallo..... Dominicans
Camalaniugan ..... idem
Piat .. .. idem
Tabang..... idem
Cabagan ..... idem
Malaueg ..... idem
Mauanang ..... idem
Santa Cruz ..... idem
Tuao´ ..... idem
Yguig ..... Dominicans
Amulong ..... idem
Tuguegarao ..... idem
Aparri ..... idem
Tuguey ..... idem
Dao ..... idem
Uuangag ..... idem
Abulug..... idem
Potol ..... idem
San Juan ..... idem
Masi..... idem
Nasiping..... idem
Gatarang..... idem
Gamu ..... idem
Púrao ..... idem
Ylagan..... idem
Tumavini..... idem

MISSIONS OF LAS BATANES.

Santo Domingo de Basco, Dominicans
San Cárlos de Magatao idem
San José de Ibana .... idem

BISHOPRIC OF NEW CACERES.

PROVINCE OF TAYABAS.

Lucban ..... Franciscans
Tayabas..... idem

Pagbilao ..... Franciscans
Sariaya..... idem
Tiaong..... idem
Mauban ..... idem
Atimonan..... idem
Gumaca ..... idem
Macalelonh..... Clergy
Catanauang ..... idem
Apad ..... idem
Muladay ..... idem

PROVINCE OF NEW ECIJA.

Balert..... Franciscans
Binangonan de Lampor..idem
Polillo ..... idem
Casiguran..... idem
Palanan ..... idem
San Vicente ..... idem
Pantabangan ..... idem
Caranglan ..... idem
Puncan..... idem

PROVINCE OF CAMARINES.

Tabuco .....Clergy
Naga ..... idem
Bombon ..... idem
Daet..... idem
Tarisay ..... idem
Yndan.....Clergy
Labo ..... idem
Paracale..... idem
Mambulao ..... idem
Capalonga ..... idem
Santa Cruz de Naga .....
Franciscans
Camaligan ..... idem
Canaman..... idem
Magarao ..... idem
Quipayo ..... idem
Calabangan ..... idem
Limganan..... idem
Milaort..... idem
Bula..... idem
Bao ..... idem
Naboa ..... idem
Limgon ..... idem
Bato ..... idem
Yriga ..... idem
Minalabag ..... idem
Bugi ..... idem
Polangui ..... idem
Das ..... idem
Ligao ..... idem
Guinobatan ..... idem
Camarines ..... idem
Cagsana ..... idem
Budiao..... idem
Sipocop ..... idem
Mangirin ..... idem
Lupi y Ragay ..... idem
Salog ..... idem
Santo Clara Ysarog.... idem

PROVINCE OF ALBAY.

Albay	Clergy
Libog	idem
Bacacay	idem
Tabaco	idem
Malinao	idem
Tiui	idem
Lagonoy	idem
Caramoan	idem
Sorsogon	idem
Bacon	idem
Gubat	idem
Bulusan	idem
Doncol	idem
Quipia	idem
San Jacinto	idem
Mobo	idem
Catanduanes	idem
Birac	idem
Biga	idem
Manito	idem
Barili	Clergy
Samboan	idem
Boloan	idem
San Nicolás	Augustines
Argao	idem
Datanguet	idem
Opon	idem
Bolohon	idem
Danao	Recolects
Siquihol	idem
Ynavangan	idem
Loon	idem
Malabohoc	idem
Paminuitan	idem
Tagbilaran	idem
Davis	idem
Baclalon	idem
Loboc	idem
Luay	idem
Dimiao	idem
Jagna	idem
Guindulman	idem

BISHOPRIC OF ZEBU.

PROVINCE OF ZEBU AND BOHOL.

Zebú	Clergy
Parian de Zebú	idem
Lutaos	idem
Mandave	idem
Bantayan	idem

PROVINCE OF ANTIQUE.

Bugason	Clergy
Patnogon	idem
Colasi	idem
Cagayan	idem
Sibalon	idem
Antique	idem
Dao	idem
San José	idem

PROVINCE OF CAPIS.

Manbusao	Clergy
Batan	idem
Sigma	idem
Sapian	idem
Bangan	idem
Madalag	idem
Calibo	idem
Ybajay	idem
Panay	Augustines
Capis	idem
Dumarao	idem
Dumalag	idem
Romblon	Recolects
Banton	idem

PROVINCE OF YLOYLO.

Yloylo	Clergy
Villa de Arévalo	idem
Manduriao	idem
Barotac	idem
Anilao	idem
Oton	Augustines
Alimodian	idem
Lalang	idem
Passi	idem
Lambunao	idem
Calinog	idem
Tigbavan	idem
Miagao	Augustines
San Joaquin	idem
Dumangas	idem
Xaro	idem
Cabatuan	idem
Maasim	idem
Pototan	idem
Caman	idem
Guimbal	idem
Ygbaras	idem
Santa Bárbara	idem
Hanínay	idem

PROVINCE OF CALAMIANES.

Taytay	Recolects
Cuyo	idem
Agutaya	idem
Culiong	idem

PROVINCE OF THE ISLAND OF NEGROS.

Yloc	Clergy
Tanay	idem
Silay	idem
Binalbagan	idem
Bago	idem
Bacoloc	idem
Bagas	idem

Cabancalan	Clergy
Amblan	idem
Manjuyot	idem
Siaton	idem
Domanguete	idem
Balabon	idem
Doloc	idem
Tayasan	idem
Jinoban	idem

PROVINCE OF LEYTE.

Cancabatoc	Clergy
Dagami	idem
Buraven	idem
Abuyog	idem
Alangalan	idem
Baybay	idem
Ylongos	idem
Palo	Augustines
Carrigara	idem
Barugo	idem
Tanavan	idem
Dulag	idem

PROVINCE OF SAMAR.

Guician	Augustines
Basey	idem
Catbalogan	Franciscans
Catarman	Clergy
Lavan	idem
Palapag	idem
Catubig	idem
Bangajon	idem
Sulat	idem
Tubig	idem
Borongan	idem
Umavas	idem
Calviga	idem
Capul	idem
Calbayog	idem
Paranas	idem

PROVINCE OF CARAGA.

Caraga	Recolects
Caminguin	idem
Botoan	idem
Tandag	idem
Bislig	idem
Pinagalian	idem
Cantilan	idem

PROVINCE OF MISAMIS.

Ynitao	Recolects
Yponan	idem
Alcliton	idem
Tagoloan	idem

Tagolanao.....	Recolects
Catarman	idem
Mambajao	idem
Quinsiliban	idem
Ylaya	idem
Cagayan	idem
Misamis	idem
Dapitan	idem
Yligan	idem
Lobogan	idem

PROVINCE OF ZAMBOANGA.

Zamboanga	Recolects

MARIANAS ISLANDS.

Agaña.....	Recolects
Ynarahan	idem
Agat.....	idem
Bora.....	idem

The inhabitants of Guam, the only one of the Marianas Islands now inhabited, are all Christians; but the population does not exceed 4000 persons of all ages.

THE END.

BARNARD AND FARLEY,
Milner Street, London.

00060651

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 April, 2016